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# THE CRITICAL REVIEW,

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For the Month of *April* 1759.

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## ARTICLE I.

*The History of England, under the House of Tudor. In Two Vols.*  
4to. By David Hume, Esq; Pr. 1l. 1s. Millar.

**T**HIS writer is already well known to the public by his many ingenious performances ; and his talents for historical composition in particular have appeared in two volumes of the British History, which are a continuation of his present subject. The reasons which have induced him to reverse the order of history in his publications are not very material to his readers. Tacitus, it appears, wrote his History before the Annals ; and it is probable, that these writers have fallen into this piece of irregularity, by the same accident, their having written the history of a later period before they thought of undertaking that of the former.

It is perhaps unnecessary for the information of our readers, to enter minutely into the particulars of this author's style, as we have not been able to remark any great variation from his former manner. We find, indeed, fewer examples of those forced inversions, and uncommon terms which, in his preceding volumes, were liable to considerable objections. With the advantage of more ease and simplicity, he has, in our opinion, supported the former elegance of his composition, and produced a work so much the more agreeable to a sound taste, that he has not, in every instance, discovered the same attention to

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polish and refine, by departing from the ordinary forms of expression.

Errors of this kind now seldom occur, though we must observe that they are, perhaps, not altogether avoided; and that we sometimes meet with words of a doubtful authority, which it would have become so correct and elegant writer to have shunned.

*Delate*, which our author makes use of in the sense of informing and accusing, is a Scotch expression.

*Insurgents*, which frequently recurs, is a new word, of doubtful authority, and not very pleasing to the ear. Such a word may be convenient on many occasions, where rebel or male-content are improper: but if this reason were admitted for the coining of new words, we should hardly have any standard of language remaining.

The author, page 475, is not aware, that in England we say that the jury gives the verdict, the judge pronounces the sentence.

How a criminal, page 62, can be punished capitally for more offences than one, we are at a loss to imagine. We are put in mind of a judge, who, having dismissed a criminal from his bar, declared, that if ever he was brought there again for a like offence, he should lose his ears *toties quoties*.

Whilst we do our author the justice to acknowledge that he has discovered great sagacity in clearing up some doubtful and controverted parts of history, and is, in general, exact in the minute circumstances of his narration, we are, in justice to our task, obliged to make some remarks where we think him mistaken.

The patent, page 2, obtained by the Duke of Lancaster for the legitimation of his natural children is not silent, as this historian supposes, upon the point of the succession to the crown. Had he consulted the patent itself in the *Fœdera*, Tom. VII. p. 849, he would have found, that the right of succession to the crown is positively excluded from the privileges which the duke of Lancaster's children were to enjoy in consequence of their legitimation. Sir Edward Coke, in his *Institutes*, 4th Instit. Part I. ch. i. p. 37. gives a copy of the patent containing the same clause.

We are at a loss to understand our author, page 16, where he says, 'That the marquis of Dorset, brother to the queen-regent



regent was confined by the command of Henry. It is probable that *regent*, by a slip of the pen or error of the press, is put for dowager. But our author is still mistaken in point of fact; for the marquis of Dorset was not brother to the queen-dowager, but her son by a former marriage.

He seems, page 41, to have mistaken the force of Poyning's law, in alledging, that the government of England was, by this statute, empowered to make laws for Ireland. The intention of that act was, in reality, to make the laws then established in England of force likewise in that part of his majesty's dominions.

Page 475, our author speaks of Sir James Balfour as governor of the castle of Edinburgh; but this is certainly a mistake, as both Keith and Anderson agree, that Bothwell himself obtained the government of that fortress: it is not therefore surprising, that a creature of his was trusted with the immediate care of it in the character of his deputy.

It appears by comparing the Latin with the English edition of lord Bacon's history, that our author has been precipitant in charging his lordship with a mistake. The pope indeed, as lord Bacon observes in the Latin edition, enjoyed before the reign of Henry VIII. the emolument of vacant sees; but our kings were in the practice of compounding for that occasional revenue; and as they satisfied the court of Rome at an under-value, they still had so much profit in the bargain as tempted them to prolong the vacancies.

Notwithstanding any errors or inaccuracies of this nature, we gladly acknowledge the general merit of our author's performance, which, by the elegance, variety, and force of his elocution, is certainly an accession of great lustre to the English literature. Rapid and interesting in his narration, easy and natural in his transitions; profound in his reflections; ingenious, copious, and eloquent, in urging the reasons of a measure, or in stating the arguments which favour the views of contending parties, he has offered to the public a work highly instructive and entertaining, in which not only affairs of state, but the passions, characters, and reasonings of men, are laid open with a masterly, a skilful, and impartial hand.

He has indeed in this, as well as in the following part of the history, bent the force of his genius, more than that single object deserved, to prepare in his readers the ground of that compassion which he himself had felt for a prince who became the

sacrifice of liberty, and perished in the flames, by which our constitution has been refined.

Impressed with a regard for public order and national tranquillity, he has maintained a great reserve on the principles of resistance and opposition, amidst acknowledgments of their just foundation, and a sense of the benefits which arise to mankind from their seasonable operation.

When we consider the blessings which redound to our country from the change of religion, which took place in this period, we shall wish perhaps to find the merit of our first reformers, in many places, treated with more of that respect, which was due, at least to the vigour, resolution, and integrity of the part they acted, if not to the correctness of their apprehension, or the propriety of their measures on many occasions; but must, at the same time, acknowledge, that a historian wading through the torrents of violence, bigotry, and faction, which over-ran the ages of which he wrote, could not retain the air of impartiality, without setting in their proper light the faults, and even the ridicule of opposite parties, who were equally ready to make religious belief a matter of compulsion, not of amicable persuasion, and friendly information. If in such a representation the patrons of truth itself fall under occasional censure, we are not to confound the merits of their cause with the errors of their conduct; nor interpret the blemishes of that zeal which becomes a principle of contention, hostility, and outrage, among parties, as a ground of censure against the sacred tenets which are calculated to pacify and reconcile, not to exasperate, mankind.

Although our author does not depart from the business of an historian, to enter into the merits of any controversial difference, he has made free with the vices of every party; and if we examine the bent of his censures, as they are pointed at different extremes, his representation upon the whole has done honour to the English reformation, and the subsequent establishment. A patron of toleration, in opposition to the violence of different factions, he has, with great depth, observed, the circumstances which hindered even the reformed of that age from adopting this prudent and charitable policy. And in the character of Edward, p. 345, he has justly remarked, *that the bigotry of Protestants, less governed by priests, lies under more restraints than that of the Catholics, and that the effects of this malignant quality are in the former less to be apprehended.*

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When we take still a more general view of the work before us, we find an attempt to comprehend all the objects of history, not only the great and interesting transactions of each reign, with whatever may characterize the persons engaged in public life, or delineate the state of the constitution in different periods; but, in order to point out the progress of the nation in political, commercial, or literary improvements, the regulations which relate to police, commerce, or the revenue, are minutely observed, and the essays of genius are considered. And we must, upon the whole, applaud the skill with which our author has involved the reflections of a philosophical historian in the detail of his facts, in a manner which throws a light upon every subject, without sensibly interrupting the course of the narration.

The reader will be able to observe the variety of his style, and the genius of his narration in the following passages, where the ridicule and the lamentable bigotry of those ages are equally exposed to his view.

‘ There was one Lambert, a schoolmaster in London, who had been questioned for unsound opinions by archbishop Warham; but, upon the death of that prelate, and the changing of councils at court, he had been released. Not terrified with the danger which he had incurred, he still continued to promulgate his tenets; and having heard Dr. Taylor, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, defend in a sermon the corporal presence, he could not forbear expressing to Taylor his dissent from that doctrine; and he drew up his objections under ten several heads. Taylor carried the paper to Dr. Barnes, who happened to be a Lutheran, and who maintained, that, though the substance of bread and wine remained in the sacrament, yet the real body and blood of Christ were there also, and were, in a certain mysterious manner, incorporated with the material elements. By the present laws and practice, Barnes was no less exposed to the stake than Lambert; yet such was the persecuting rage which prevailed, that he was determined to bring this man to condign punishment; because, in their common departure from the ancient faith, he had dared to go one step farther than himself. He engaged Taylor to delate Lambert to Cranmer and Latimer, who, whatever their private opinion might be on these points, were obliged to conform themselves to the standard of orthodoxy established by Henry. When Lambert was cited before these prelates, they endeavoured to bend him to a recantation; and they were surprized, when, instead of compliance, he ventured to appeal to the king.



‘ The king, not displeased with an opportunity, where he could at once exert his supremacy, and display his learning, accepted the appeal ; and was determined to mix, in a very unfair manner, the disputant with the judge. Public notice was given, that he intended to enter the lists with this schoolmaster : scaffolds were erected in Westminster-hall, for the accommodation of the audience : Henry appeared on his throne, accompanied with all the ensigns of majesty : the prelates were placed on his right hand : the temporal peers on his left. The judges and most eminent lawyers had a place assigned them behind the bishops : the courtiers of greatest distinction behind the peers : and in the midst of this splendid assembly was produced the unhappy Lambert, and he was required to defend his opinions against his royal antagonist.

‘ The bishop of Chichester opened the conference, by saying, that Lambert, being charged with heretical pravity, had appealed from his bishop to the king ; as if he expected more favour from this application, and as if the king could ever be induced to protect a heretic : that though his majesty had thrown off the usurpations of the see of Rome ; had disincorporated some idle monks, who lived like drones in a beehive ; had remedied the idolatrous worship of images ; had published the Bible in English, for the instruction of all his subjects ; and had made some lesser alterations, which every one must approve of ; yet was he determined to maintain the purity of the catholic faith, and to punish with the utmost severity all departure from it : and that he had taken the present opportunity, before so learned and grave an auditory, of convincing Lambert of his errors ; but if he still persevered obstinately in them, he must expect the most condign punishment.

‘ After this preamble, which was not very encouraging, the king asked Lambert, with a stern countenance, what his opinion was of Christ’s corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar ; and when Lambert began his discourse with some compliment to his majesty, he rejected the praise with disdain and indignation. He afterwards pressed Lambert with some arguments, drawn from scripture and the schoolmen : the audience applauded the force of his reasoning, and the extent of his erudition : Cranmer seconded his proofs by some new topics : Gardiner entered the lists as a support to Cranmer : Tonstal took up the argument after Gardiner : Stokesley brought fresh aid to Tonstal : six bishops more appeared successively in the field after Stokesley. And the disputation, if it deserves the name, was prolonged for five hours ; till Lambert, fatigued, confounded,

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brow-beaten, and abashed, was at last reduced to silence. The king then, returning to the charge, asked him whether he was convinced; and he proposed, as a concluding argument, this interesting question, whether he was resolved to live or die? Lambert, who possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy, replied, that he cast himself wholly on his majesty's clemency: the king told him, that he would be no protector of heretics; and therefore, if that was his final answer, he must expect to be committed to the flames. Cromwell, as vicegerent, read the sentence against him.

‘Lambert, whose vanity had probably incited him the more to persevere on account of the greatness of this public appearance, was not daunted by the terrors of that punishment, to which he was condemned. His executioners took care to make the sufferings of a man who had personally opposed the king, as cruel as possible: he was burned at a slow fire; his legs and thighs were consumed to the stumps; and when there appeared no end of his tortures, some of the guards, more merciful than the rest, lifted him on their halberts, and threw him into the flames, where he was consumed. While they were employed in this friendly office, he cried aloud several times, *None but Christ, none but Christ*; and these words were in his mouth when he expired.’

‘An act of barbarity was this year exercised in England, which, added to many other instances of the same kind, tended to render the government extremely unpopular. Cranmer had long been detained a prisoner; but the queen was now determined to bring him to punishment; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she resolved to punish him for heresy, rather than for treason. He was cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome; and though he was known to be kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, bishop of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent down to Oxford to degrade him; and the former executed that melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation, which suited his savage nature. The revenge of the queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cranmer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, prompted her also to seek the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not in the way of disputation, against which he was sufficiently armed, but by flattery, insinuation and address; by representing the dignities

to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation ; by giving hopes of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to sign a paper, in which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined, that this recantation should avail him nothing ; and they sent orders, that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately led to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprized the audience by a contrary declaration. He said, that he was well apprized of the obedience which he owed his sovereign and the laws, but this duty extended no farther than to submit patiently to their commands, and to bear, without resistance, whatever hardships they should impose upon him : that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to speak truth on all occasions, and not to relinquish, by a base denial, the holy doctrine which the supreme being had revealed to mankind : that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented ; the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him : that he took this opportunity of attoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation ; and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven : and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished, by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeits of its offences. He was thence led to the stake amidst the insults of the catholics ; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn as well as the torture of his punishment with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed entirely occupied with reflections on his former fault ; and he called aloud several times, *This hand has offended.* Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance ; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be wholly insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution to have collected



collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. It is pretended, that, after his body was consumed, his heart was found entire and untouched among the ashes ; an event, which, as it was the emblem of his constancy, was fondly believed by the zealous protestants. He was undoubtedly a man of merit ; possessed of learning and capacity ; and adorned with candour, sincerity and beneficence, and all those virtues, which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His moral qualities procured him universal respect ; and the courage of his martyrdom, though he fell short of the rigid inflexibility observed in many, made him the hero of the protestant party.'

In order to give some idea of the depth with which our author treats the particulars of his subject as they occur, we refer to the following reflections :

' The power of the kings of England had always been somewhat irregular or discretionary ; but was scarce ever so absolute during any reign as during that of Henry. Besides the personal character of the man, full of vigour, industry, and severity, deliberate in all projects, steady in every purpose, and attended with caution, as well as good fortune, in each enterprize ; he came to the throne after long and bloody civil wars, which had destroyed all the great nobility, who alone could resist the encroachments of his authority : the nation was tired with discord and intestine convulsions, and willing to submit to usurpations, and even injuries, rather than plunge themselves anew into like miseries : the fruitless efforts made against him served always, as is usual, to confirm his authority : as he ruled by a faction, and the lesser faction, all those on whom he conferred offices, sensible that they owed every thing to his protection, were content to support his power, though at the expence of justice and national privileges : these seem the chief causes which at this time bestowed on the crown so considerable an addition of prerogative, and rendered the present reign a kind of epoch in the English constitution.

' This prince, though he exalted his own prerogative above law, is celebrated by his historian for many good laws, which he caused to be enacted for the government of his subjects. Several considerable regulations, indeed, are found among the statutes of this reign, both with regard to the police of the kingdom, and its commerce : but the former are commonly contrived with much better judgment than the latter. The more simple ideas of order and equity are sufficient to guide a legislator in every thing that regards the internal administration of justice :

justice: but the principles of commerce are much more complicated, and require long experience and deep reflection to be well understood in any state. The real consequence of a law or practice is there often contrary to first appearances. No wonder, that during the reign of Henry the Seventh, these matters were often misunderstood; and it may safely be affirmed, that even in the age of lord Bacon, very imperfect and erroneous ideas were formed on that subject.'

From this reign we may observe our author dates that change in the antient constitution which gave the government of England, under the house of Tudor, more the air of a settled despotism than that of a Gothic monarchy. And, indeed, the general tenor of this history prepares us to expect those struggles for liberty which commenced under the following reigns; and may prevent our surprize at the irreconcilable differences which arose between a court for some time accustomed to discretionary measures, and a people roused to the love of liberty, and desirous of legal government.

The age of Henry the Seventh was remarkable for many innovations, which were then introduced in Europe. The reader may be pleased to see how our author assembles these particulars into one view, at the conclusion of this reign.

' But though this improvement of navigation, and the discovery of both the Indies, was the most memorable incident that happened during this or any other period, it was not the only great event by which the age was distinguished. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks; and the Greeks, among whom some remains of learning were still preserved, being scattered by these Barbarians, took shelter in Italy, and imported, together with their admirable language, a tincture of their science and their refined taste in poetry and eloquence. About the same time, the purity of the Latin tongue was revived, the study of antiquity became fashionable, and the esteem for literature gradually propagated itself through every nation of Europe. The art of printing, invented about that time, facilitated extremely the progress of all these improvements: the invention of gunpowder changed the whole art of war: mighty innovations were soon after made in religion, such as not only affected those states that embraced them, but even those that adhered to the antient faith and worship: and thus a general revolution was made in human affairs throughout this part of the world; and men attained that situation with regard to commerce,

merce, arts, sciences, government, police, and cultivation, in which they have ever since persevered. Here therefore commences the useful, as well as agreeable part of modern annals; certainty has place in all the considerable, and even most of the minute parts of historical narration; a great variety of events, preserved by printing, give the author the power of selecting, as well as adorning, the facts, which he relates; and as each incident has a reference to our present manners and situation, instructive lessons occur every moment during the course of the narration. Whoever carries his anxious researches into preceding periods is moved by a curiosity, liberal indeed and commendable; not by any necessity for acquiring a knowledge of public affairs, or the arts of civil government.'

Although our author is inferior, perhaps, to no historian in the talent of characterising eminent men, by the short glances of a penetrating reflection, which are thrown upon their conduct in the course of his narration; yet he has, in our opinion, greatly adorned his history, by the professed characters he has drawn. Such pictures serve either to give the first notice of a remarkable person, and prepare the reader for that part he is to act, or close the account of his life, by a very natural recollection of his principal features, and a judgment of his merits or defects. Of the former kind is the character of Wolsey, p. 86.

' Henry entered into all the views of Wolsey; and finding no one so capable of executing this plan of administration as the person who proposed it, he soon advanced his favourite, from being the companion of his careless hours, to be a member of his council; and from being a member of his council, to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrouled authority, the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expence: of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprize: ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory: insinuating, engaging, persuasive; and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding: haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependants; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he seemed framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of *nature* with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recal the original inferiority or rather meanness of his *fortune*.'

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For a specimen of the latter kind, the reader may consider the characters of the rival queens, that of Mary, p. 622.

‘ Thus died, in the forty-sixth year of her age, and the nineteenth of her captivity in England, Mary queen of Scots ; a princess of great accomplishments both of body of mind, natural as well as acquired ; but unfortunate in her life, and during one period, very unhappy in her conduct. The beauties of her person, and of her air, combined to make her the most amiable of women ; and the charms of her address and conversation added the impression which her lovely figure made on the hearts of all beholders. Ambitious and active in her temper, yet inclined to cheerfulness and society ; of a lofty spirit, constant and even vehement in her purpose ; yet polite, and gentle, and affable in her demeanor ; she seemed to partake only so much of the male virtues as to render her estimable, without relinquishing those soft graces which compose the proper ornaments of her sex. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man ; and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable, though not uncommon, inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents, have on persons whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. Enraged by the ungrateful conduct of her husband, seduced by the treacherous counsels of one in whom she reposed confidence, transported by the violence of her own temper, which never lay sufficiently under the guidance of discretion ; she was betrayed into actions, which may, with some difficulty, be accounted for, but which admit of no apology, nor even of alleviation. An enumeration of her qualities might carry the appearance of a panegyric ; an account of her conduct must, in some parts, wear the aspect of a severe satire and invective.

‘ Her numerous misfortunes, the solitude of her long and tedious captivity, and the persecutions to which she had been exposed on account of her religion, had wrought her up to a degree of bigotry during her latter years ; and such was the prevalent spirit and principles of that age, that it is the less wonder, if her zeal, her resentment and her interest uniting, induced her to give consent to a design, which conspirators, actuated only by the first of these motives, had formed against the life of Elizabeth.’

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To the death of Elizabeth is subjoined the following character of that celebrated princess:

‘ Such a dark cloud overcast the evening of that day, which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than queen Elizabeth; and yet there scarce is any, whose reputation has been more certainly determined, by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of her administration, and the strong features of her character, were able to overcome all prejudices; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have, at last, in spite of political factions, and what is more, of religious animosities, produced an uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person who ever filled a throne: a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controuled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess: her heroism was exempt from all temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her enterprize from turbulency and a vain ambition: she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

‘ Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself, she soon obtained an uncontrouled ascendant over her people; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues, she also engaged their affection by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances; and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people, by her superior prudence, from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations: and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able by her vigour to make deep impressions on their state: her own greatness mean-while remained untouched and unimpaired.

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' The wise ministers, and brave warriors, who flourished during her reign, share the praise of her success; but instead of lessening the applause due to her, they make great addition to it. They owed, all of them, their advancement to her choice; they were supported by her constancy; and with all their ability, they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress: the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution, and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

' The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and of bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice, which is more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure, or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper, some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished. But the true method of estimating her merit, is to lay aside all these considerations, and to consider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and entrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.'

Our author concludes the whole with a review of the government, an account of the revenues, the military force, the commerce, the arts, and the learning of England, during this period, from which it appears how greatly the nation is changed or improved in these several respects.

After running over the different particulars which indicate an arbitrary or a dangerous power in the crown, the servility of parliaments, the acknowledged authority of proclamations, the dispensing power, the arbitrary courts which exercised the jurisdiction of the crown, and the irregular methods of raising contributions from the subject, he concludes the article of government with the following remark:

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On the whole, the English have no reason, from the example of their ancestors, to be in love with the picture of absolute monarchy ; or to prefer the unlimited authority of the prince, and his unbounded prerogatives, to that noble liberty, that sweet equality, and that happy security, by which they are at present distinguished above all nations of the universe. The utmost that can be said in favour of the antient government (and perhaps it may be said with truth) is, that the power of the prince, though really unlimited, was exercised after the European manner, and entered not into every part of the administration ; that the instances of a high exerted prerogative were not so frequent as to render property sensibly insecure, or reduce the people to a total servitude ; that the freedom from faction, the quickness of execution, and the promptitude of those measures, which could be taken for offence or defence, made some compensation for the want of a legal and determined liberty ; that as the prince commanded no mercenary army, there was a tacit check on him, which maintained the government in that medium, to which the people had been accustomed ; and that this situation of England was in reality more remote, though seemingly it approached nearer, a despotic and eastern monarchy, than the present government of that kingdom, where the people, though guarded by multiplied laws, are totally naked, defenceless, and disarmed.'

We cannot extend quotations of this nature, without exceeding the necessary limits of our paper : and although we dwell with pleasure on a work, of which every page deserves a particular attention, yet we have found difficulty in the choice of quotations, from a work which is sustained in every part, and where we are not assisted in our choice by remarkable inequalities, on which to ground any heavy censure or peculiar approbation.

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ART. II. *A Practical Treatise of Husbandry : wherein are contained, many useful and valuable experiments and observations in the new Husbandry, collected during a series of years, by the celebrated M. Duhamel du Monceau, member of the royal academy of sciences at Paris, fellow of the Royal Society, London, &c. Also the most approved practice of the best English farmers, in the old method of husbandry. With copper-plates of several new and useful instruments. 4to. Price 16s. 6d. Whiston and White.*

**A**T a time when a spirit of farming seems almost universal in this and our neighbouring island, a more useful work than that now before us, could not have been offered to the public.

public. The editor acquaints us, that ‘ M. Duhamel and his correspondents have set the world an example, which has long been wanted, and greatly desired by all who have the good of their country at heart, and are sensible of the importance of agriculture. They have given us a series of experiments in this most useful art, continued for several years together, with accuracy and judgment, and related in a clear distinct manner. Theory alone can avail but little in husbandry, which, as Dr. Home observes, “ does not take its rise originally from reason, but from fact and experience.”——He asks, “ Where are the experiments in agriculture ?——When I look round for such, I can find few or none. There lies the impediment in the way of agriculture. Books in that art we are not deficient in ; but the book which we want, is a book of experiments.”

This treatise is that book.——The favourable reception which all Europe has given to M. Duhamel’s *Traité de la Culture des Terres*, is a convincing proof of the merit of that performance, which loses nothing in this translation, if we may so call a work, in which his materials are thrown into quite a new form, and enriched with *numbers of valuable observations and improvements, taken from the best writers on this interesting subject.*

M. Duhamel’s merit we find is well known to that great and good man, the Rev. Dr. Hales, whose judgment in the science here treated of will always have its due weight with the public ; and we find he has given the editor leave to say in the preface, that ‘ the English reader will find many *useful instructions*, and hints for farther improvements in husbandry.’

The inconvenience which M. Duhamel laboured under from the nature of the publication of his work (the five volumes of which were printed in different years, as materials were transmitted to him) is removed here. The experiments which necessarily stand dispersed in his treatise are ranged in a regular series, by which their progress towards perfection is clearly shewn. We see them here, from their first beginning, and observe what difficulties occurred in the course of them, and how they were surmounted.

Our author has divided this work into four parts : the first contains the general principles of agriculture, &c. In order to explain these principles, his first enquiry is concerning the food of plants ; and next, how that food is conveyed to them. What is said on this subject is taken chiefly from M. Duhamel, who borrowed great part of it from our countryman Mr. Tull. The roots and leaves of plants, being the channels by which their food

Food is transmitted to them, are treated of in the two first chapters, so far as is necessary to give farmers a general idea of their use.

In the third chapter, earth, greatly pulverized, is considered as the immediate *food of plants*; without deciding whether it be simple, elementary, and void of all other substances.

The fourth chapter is an inquiry, *whether the most different kinds of plants draw the same substance from the earth, for their food*: and from several arguments, fairly stated, our author concludes, 1st, that many plants of different species do feed on nearly the same substance. 2dly, that there is no plant which does not rob those that are within its reach, of some part of their food; and, 3dly, that the soil which once is good for one kind of plant, will always be able to supply it with food, provided it be properly cultivated.

The fifth chapter treats of *the distribution of the food of plants within the earth*, and shews, that, as it is distributed in every part, the only way to enable the roots of plants to get at it, is to keep the ground in a light loose state, by frequent *tillage*, which is the subject of the sixth chapter; wherein is shewn, that the keeping of land in good tilth, promotes the growth of plants, and brings them to perfection, much more effectually than the common and more expensive method of using dung.

The eighth chapter relates to *the management of lands newly broken up*, which are divided into *wood-lands, heaths and commons, meadow and pasture land, and moist grounds*. Particular directions are given for the treatment of each.

Chap. viii. treats of *manures*, in the most extensive meaning of the word. The defects of each soil are pointed out, together with the means of remedying them by the use of proper manures. Soils are divided into clay, sand, and loam.

The ninth chapter contains *directions for plowing* each different kind of soil, with descriptions of the ploughs most proper for that purpose, and instructions concerning the season when the manures should be spread and plowed in.

Having, in the preceding chapters, given an account of the most approved practice in the OLD HUSBANDRY, our author, in the tenth chapter, begins to set forth the principles on which the NEW HUSBANDRY is founded, and shews the *advantage of cultivating annual plants whilst they grow*, by frequently stirring the earth round them, in order to keep it in a loose state.



In the five following chapters he gives many useful instructions, founded on experience, for the proper culture of lands.

The sixteenth chapter treats of the *distempers to which corn is subject*, and the means of preventing, or remedying them. As no one in our language has ever treated this matter so fully before; it is not only new, but very instructing to our English farmers.

In the seventeenth chapter, inquiry is made concerning the effects of various *sheeps*. Several of them are shewn to be of little or no use.

The eighteenth chapter, which concludes the first part, contains an account of the *weeds* that do most hurt to corn; and shews the best means of destroying them, which is much more easily effected by the new husbandry than the old.

The first and second chapters of the second part of this work, consist of *experiments on the culture of wheat*, according to the new husbandry. The importance of these experiments is such, that we could wish for room to abridge them all; but as that cannot be done within the narrow limits of these sheets, by reason of their great number and variety, we must refer those who have the welfare of husbandry, and in that the good of their country at heart, to the original, where they appear in their proper, striking, light: but to give our readers some idea of the exactness with which they were performed, and the great advantages resulting from them in favour of the new husbandry, we shall extract a specimen from the work itself.

*Experiment made by M. Roussel (one of M. Duhamel's correspondents) near Guignes in the province of Brie.*

“ In October 1755, (says M. Roussel) I chose, in the middle of a fallow-field, which had been well plowed, ten arpents\* of ground; this was set apart for the new husbandry: and that I might be able to make a just comparison, I measured out ten other arpents of the same field, and the same kind of soil, to be sowed broad-cast in the old way.

“ These last ten arpents were extremely well dunged, by folding of sheep upon them. With regard to the ten arpents which were to be cultivated in the new way, and which com-

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\* The French *arpent* is equal to one acre, and very near three quarters of a rood, English measure, as our author informs us in his preface to this work.

posed ninety-three beds, five feet wide, including the alleys, (or *intervals*, as Mr. Tull calls them) only eight of these beds were dunged by sheep, and that at the same time, and to the same degree, as the ground by which the comparison was intended to be made. Of the other beds, seventy-six had no sort of dung or amendment whatever; and nine were dunged, more or less, in the manner and proportion hereafter-mentioned.

“ Most of those who practise the new husbandry, use no dung at all. I supposed that their reason for rejecting this manure was, the difficulty of finding a proper time to apply it; for whilst the alleys receive their several stirrings, no wheel-carriage can be admitted with dung, without hurting the beds which are sown, and hardening the loose mould of the alleys: to carry it on the backs of cattle would be, at best, a very difficult, tedious, and expensive way, where any considerable space is to be tilled: to spread it on the earth only the moment the seed is going to be sowed, is a sure way to clog up the drill-plough, and hinder its operation, if the dung be not thoroughly rotten; and to breed weeds, which by no means suit this culture. To remedy these inconveniences, I contrived the following method. I opened in each of the alleys, one of those large furrows, which must always be every year at the end of the summer hoeings, in the place where the three rows of seed are afterwards to be sown; and by drawing the plough with two mould-boards once through it, I made it 14 or 15 inches wide, which is the breadth that three rows of seed require. The space between two of these deep furrows, is exactly the breadth of a cart, the wheels of which going in them, hurt no part that has been plowed, and do not press down or harden the loose mould; nor do the horses do any damage, because they necessarily tread upon the stubble of the late reaped beds, in the middle between these two furrows. This was the method I used to dung the nine beds in question. The dung was well rotted; it was spread at the bottom of the furrows, and immediately covered over by the same plowing that made the beds which were sown some days after. Perhaps this manure may be of more service to my lands, than to many others, because the soil is naturally cold and backward. The grain is by this means sowed upon a kind of gentle hot-bed, the warmth of which promotes the branching and vegetation of the plants: the winter rains and frosts, raise a fermentation. The first spring plowing, by giving it a little air, revives that fermentation at the very time when the sap is most active, and the plant begins to branch. As the dung rots, a kind of motion is caused in the earth, which, in some measure, answers the end of a slight plowing, and brings fresh nourish-

ment to the roots. The same heat which consumes the straw, likewise consumes the little seeds that are in the dung, which might otherwise produce numbers of weeds. When this dung is brought up again to the surface of the earth, by the next year's plowings, it will no longer have those hurtful seeds. It will, indeed, have lost its heat, but it will still have retained all its fatness, which will mix with the earth; and the land thus constantly dunged, will, in time, become a perfectly fine mould: but if these layers of dung should be spread too thick, or the dung itself be of too hot a nature, the roots of the corn might perhaps be endangered thereby. It was to determine this that I tried the following experiments, to know the effects of different dungs, and what quantity it is proper to employ.

“ Three beds were dunged in the above manner with horse-dung; the first, which was 184 toises (or fathoms) long, had three loads of dung; the second, of 185 toises, had but two and a half; and the third, of 187 toises, had but two. Three other beds were dunged with cow-dung; one of 137 toises, with two loads and a half; the second, of the same length, with two loads; and the third, of 138 toises, with only one load and a half. The three remaining beds had sheep's dung; the first, of 133 toises, two loads; the second, of 132 toises, one load and a half; and the third, which was of the same length, one load.

“ These beds were distributed in such manner, that each of them was in the middle of two other beds which were not dunged. The field thus laid out, was sown the 13th, 14th, 15th, and 16th of October, with your (M. Duhamel's) drill-plough, which plants three rows in each bed. I used eighteen bushels\* of seed; and afterwards half a bushel to fill up the chasms; which is after the rate of one bushel and eighteen pounds to an arpent, and consequently a little too much. Accordingly, when the corn came up, I saw it was too thick sown: the reason was, that the grain was too small, and not proportioned to the outlet of the drill-plough. At the end of ten days, this corn rose well. On the 18th of December I observed, that most of these plants had branched into four stalks, whilst those in the common way had but three. I perceived no sensible difference then, between the dunged and the undunged beds. It was not till the 24th of January, that I saw plainly the plants of the dunged beds were of a deeper green, and had

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\* The French bushel is equal to one peck, one quart, and about two cubic inches of our measure.



made longer and more vigorous shoots, than those of the undunged beds. By the 20th of February, five smaller stalks issued out of the five great ones, which was not the case with the wheat in the common way. The alleys did not receive their first plowing till the 10th of March. Eleven of the main stalks grew an inch and a half in five days; and I observed, that the moles were rather more busy in the dunged beds, than in the others. As the earth was yet somewhat too soft, I thought it needless to continue a plowing which could do no good, and therefore postponed it to the 28th of March, and following days. The 9th of April I found a plant with eighteen stalks in one of the dunged beds; the greatest number of branches that any of the plants in the undunged beds had, was twelve: but, on the other hand, I likewise found some which had eighteen, in the field of comparison sown in the common way. The 9th of May this same plant had twenty stalks; and from that time it branched no more. The second plowing was not given till three weeks after, *viz.* the 28th of May, which, I think, was somewhat too late after the corn had ceased to branch. The 23d of June there were three sorts of wheat in all the beds: there were ears in blossom, others just going out of bloom, and others not yet out of their hoods. The finest ears were those which came up and blossomed first. The most forward beds were those which had been dunged under furrow, with sheep's dung: the next to them were the eight beds which had been folded, the plants of which were a little greener than those of the undunged beds. The last plowing was given on the 10th of July. The grain had then begun to fill; but that in the common way was the most forward, though it was sowed three weeks later than the other. I know not for what reason the wheat of the new husbandry began to be reaped the 4th of August; and that, in the old way, was let stand till the 13th."

The result of this experiment, for the farther particulars of which we must refer to the work, was, that the beds which were not dunged at all, produced, upon an average, about twelve sheaves a-piece; and those that were dunged, about sixteen. The ten arpents sown in the common broad-cast way, after having been well folded all over, produced 1820 sheaves; and the ten arpents, cultivated in the new way, in beds, only 1208. The difference here is considerable in favour of the old way. But then it is to be considered, that land sown in broad-cast, can bear but one crop of wheat in three years: the second year it is generally sown with some other grain, reckoned at half the value of wheat; and the third year it is usually fallowed. The new husbandry, on the contrary, will produce a crop of wheat

every year. The ten arpents cultivated in the new way, would therefore produce in three years, on the footing of the above crop, 3624 sheaves; whilst the other ten arpents, in the old way, would yield, in that time, only the value of 2730 sheaves.

This great advantage of the new husbandry is confirmed by Mr. de Chateau-vieux, who, after having practised it for several years, concludes the account of his experiments in the year 1756, in the following manner, p. 282.

“ We have already seen, that the produce of 150 arpents would, at most, not have exceeded 55200 pounds of wheat in 1756: but as that was a bad year, I will make the following comparison on the footing of a good crop, in order to give the old husbandry every advantage that can possibly be desired. I will therefore suppose the neat produce of 150 arpents to have been, the first year, ————— 76000 lb.  
and that of the other 150 arpents, the next year, ————— 76000 lb.

For the two years, ————— 152000 lb.

“ We have seen that the same 300 arpents, cultivated in beds, reckoning their neat produce for two years, only on the footing of the bad crop of 1756, would have yielded 269538 pounds of wheat; consequently this culture would have produced in two years 117538 pounds of corn more than the old husbandry; and this difference, in ten years, would amount to 587690 † pounds.”

The culture of *maiz*, or *Indian corn*, is the subject of the third chapter of the second part of this work. Our author gives the present, and what he apprehends may be the improved, culture of this plant in our colonies in America, for which place this chapter seems chiefly designed.

The fourth and fifth chapter consists of experiments on *Turkey*, *Spanish*, and other *foreign wheat*; chiefly with a view to try how far they will succeed in more northern climates.

The third part of this work contains the culture of *spring corn*, *leguminous plants*, *pot-herbs*, &c. with experiments, shewing, how much it may be improved by means of the new husbandry.

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† Equal to about 1180 quarters of our measure, which, at 40 s. a quarter, would make a profit of 236 l. a year.

The first chapter treats of *barley*, *oats*, and *rye*. The experiments on *barley* and *oats* were attended with the same good success as those in the preceding part, on *wheat*. The experiments on *rye* had one peculiar advantage, namely, that as the grain was less liable to be destroyed by birds, the comparison was made with greater certainty: and an instance is given, that, in dry years, *rye* may be cut to great advantage for the food of cattle.

*Millet* and *rice* are the subjects of the second and third chapters: both contain instructions, which, we apprehend, may be of use to our colonies. A particular account is given of the Chinese method of cultivating *rice*, and a description of the plough used for that purpose.

Chapter the fourth treats of the culture of *peas* and *beans*. Experience has already shewn our gardeners the advantage of sowing these plants in distant rows; and the experiments related in this chapter will convince them of the still greater benefit of stirring the spaces between them whilst the plants are growing.

In the fifth chapter M. de Chateaux-vieux proves, by a number of experiments, that *pot-herbs* of all kinds thrive much better without dung, by means of the *new husbandry*, than by the most careful culture bestowed upon them by gardeners, with dung. He found them much more tender and delicate, their flavour higher, and more pleasing to the palate, and they require much less time to boil than those raised in the kitchen garden. He concludes with the following remark: 'We may place the greater confidence in these experiments on pot-herbs, as they have been cultivated in the same manner for several years, and always with the same success. The beauty, largeness, and vigour of the plants, cannot be imputed to dung, or other manure; for none was used: nor did they want watering, to which I never had recourse, but when any of them were transplanted. It is therefore to the culture that their flourishing growth must be ascribed: and this is the more remarkable, as it is well known, that, in the common management of kitchen-gardens, if the ground was not to be dunged for several years, it would produce only poor and stunted plants.'

In this chapter M. de Chateaux-vieux also extends the new husbandry to the culture of the *teazel*, or *fuller's thistle*; a plant of great importance in the woollen manufacture.

A very particular detail of the culture of *turnips* is given in the sixth chapter: and several experiments are related, in order



to prove the efficacy of the new husbandry, in the culture of this plant.

The seventh treats of *flax* and *hemp*. This last plant, in particular, is shewn to be of a much better quality when cultivated according to the new husbandry, than when managed in the common way.

‘The superior quality of the hemp employed in the cordage of ships, is, as M. de Chateau-vieux justly observes, an object of the utmost importance; for it must be of very great advantage, to have ropes of a less diameter be as strong as those of a larger size: probably too the ropes will be more durable. But these motives of economy are vastly inferior to the inestimable advantage of saving the ships, their cargoes, and their crews, which often depends on the strength of their sails and cables.’

The three following chapters treat of artificial grasses, viz. *sainfoin*, *lucerne*, and *clover*. The most approved culture of *sainfoin*, in the old husbandry, is given, with very particular directions for making it into hay. M. de Chateau-vieux’s experiments on *lucerne*, are executed with his usual judgment and accuracy; and he has here given us a fresh instance of the superiority of his genius for farming, in a new method of cultivating that most useful plant.

The eleventh chapter treats of *meadow* and *pasture ground*. Here again M. de Chateau-vieux stands distinguished for his improvement of pasture ground, by means of his three-coultered plough. Our author observes, p. 380, that ‘this method of repairing and improving poor or worn-out meadows or pasture grounds, does not require any great quantity of dung; one load of it will go as far in this practice as three would in the common way, and be much more beneficial to the grass. M. de Chateau-vieux has tried it for some years, and with all the success he could desire. His grass, thus improved, has always been very thick and long, and has yielded him plentiful crops of hay, when fodder has been extremely scarce every where else. In his opinion, *one arpent thus cultivated, will produce as much grass as ten in the common way.*’

In the twelfth chapter we have a quotation from Mr. Miller’s Dictionary, in relation to the *culture of the vine*. Our author tells us, that he has enlarged the more on this article, as he thinks it may be of service to our American colonies; in which he may possibly be very right.

The fourth part of this work contains exact descriptions of several *instruments* peculiar to, or useful in, the new husbandry; with

with particular directions how to use them. Some methods are likewise proposed for the *preservation of corn*; such as may easily be put in practice by every farmer.

The last chapter of this work gives an *account of the weather* during the years 1755 and 1756.

To give our candid opinion of this work, which is the first of the kind that has ever appeared in our language, we look upon it as an acquisition of no small value to this country. The subject is one of the most useful and interesting that could possibly have been chosen; the arrangement is judicious; the language correct, and easy to be understood, as all works, especially of this nature, ought to be; and the experiments are distinct, exact, and conclusive. Our countrymen have here an example set them, which, if they follow, we may 'promise ourselves, that it will be the happiness of the present age to see every obstacle removed, which might retard a general improvement in husbandry, is the genuine and original source of the wealth and power of this island, as well as of its ornament and security.'

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ART. III. *A Catalogue of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts, purchased by authority of parliament, for the use of the public; and preserved in the British museum. Published by order of the trustees. Vol. second.*

THE second volume of this invaluable repository begins with a Greek book upon agriculture, with *scolia*, not hitherto published, and wrote upon silken leaves about 450 years ago, purchased by the lord Oxford from Mr. Wanley. We then meet with the papers of Sir Charles Cornwallis, who was resident from James I. in Spain. Almost every reader knows how fond that prince was of splendid embassies; and Sir Charles is an eminent proof that he was not always unfortunate in the choice of his ambassadors. He was one of the most compleat statesmen in his time, and to him was owing in a great measure the education of Henry prince of Wales. During his residence at the court of Spain James sent, by the old earl of Nottingham, one of the most sumptuous embassies ever known to that court, in order to ratify a peace that had been just concluded between Spain and England. It was so excessively splendid that Cornwallis thought it threw himself into some obscurity; and in several of the letters, here mentioned, he talks very discontentedly

tentedly of the earl. In one to the earl himself, he says, "that his lordship having by favour of the prince he served, attained titles of honour, would have in memory that he was born only Mr Charles Howard, and that he was born Charles Cornwallis. In one of his dispatches to Sir George Buck, who by the bye, was the author of the apologetical life of Richard III. speaking of the earl of Nottingham, he says, "he came, he was here, he is gone, and so is his memory, save only in the shops of this city," alluding no doubt to the debts he had contracted; though Sir Charles in another letter to the lord viscount Cranburn, afterwards earl of Salisbury, says that the king of Spain made the earl a present of jewels to the value of 20,000*l*. In many of his letters Sir Charles complains bitterly of the stinginess of his court to him, in not remitting him money, which he, indeed seems to have deserved, for his intelligence is exact and important.

Amongst the other extraordinary personages then protected by his catholic majesty was Stewart earl of Bothwell, a natural son or grandson of James V. of Scotland. His many daring attempts against James in Scotland had occasioned his being banished from thence; and taking refuge in Spain he was, says Sir Charles, in one of his letters, like to be clapped up in the inquisition, having lately brought his concubine to church, and there took the sacrament with her." We likewise understand that the said earl, as well in Spain as in Scotland, was reputed a forcerer; and in another dispatch we learn "that he had thrown a Spaniard out of a window, and had escaped to the Imperial ambaffador's," but that his concubine was seized.

The reader, however, is to be acquainted here, that since Mr. Wanley drew up this part of the catalogue, many of Cornwallis's letters have been published in Winwood's and other collections of state papers; but enough remains yet unpublished to form a more compleat collection than any that has yet appeared, relating to the affairs between Spain and England at that time. Here and there we meet with some very just strictures of the Spanish humour and character. "I verily think, says Sir Charles, in one of his letters, if a man should put up a memorial to them desiring it might be lawful to eat mustard with his beef, they would keep one three months in their councils and consults, before they would determine it." In the course of the correspondence the depredations, the delays, and all the other grivances that brought on the last war with Spain, are complained of by the English merchants; and one in reading them is apt to imagine they had been dictated by Sir Benjamin



Benjamin Keene, instead of Sir Charles Cornwallis, 150 years ago.

By an article of N<sup>o</sup> 1877 we learn, that stews were licensed in the pious reign of Edward VI. but with this difference, that, by proclamation, it was ordered "they should be whited over on the outside, and have figures painted on them." In the same and some succeeding numbers, which consist of several hundreds of articles, we have curious and interesting informations concerning the state of the English wool and tin trade, and of the revenues accruing from the same, 2, 3, and 400 years ago: but we shall not be inticed by any particulars till we arrive at N<sup>o</sup>. 1885, which is one of our most valuable English antiquities.

It contains the original register as well as chartulary of the priory of Dunstable in Bedfordshire, founded by Henry I. and regularly carried down to the reformation, and indeed after, as we find in it an original dispensation signed by cardinal Pole in 1556. The first author of this curious repository was one Richard de Morins, who was made prior of Dunstable in 1202, and died in 1242. His original intention was to write the annals of the priory in the same book, and great part of them are actually entered in it by his own hand. But he seems afterwards to have formed a separate book of annals, the original of which is now amongst the Cottonian manuscripts in the British museum, and so far as they go, in the same hand and the same words. Prior Richard, in giving an account, as he does, of his own conduct, both in the annals and this chartulary, seems to have been none of the meek disinterested followers of his master, but to have plunged as deep into brawls, breaches of the peace, and law-suits, as any wicked worldling of his time. According to his own account, his life was a meer warfare with his neighbours; sometimes they cast him, and sometimes he them, at law. But nothing seems to have discouraged Richard; for he still went on, and accumulated a vast estate to the priory. He had, however, been almost outwitted by a cursed Jew, one Mossy, who forged a bond of his for 70 *l.* (at that time an immense sum) and sued Richard upon the same. But the forgery, according to Richard, was so bunglingly performed, that the Jew was cast, and committed prisoner to the Tower of London; the rest of the Jews making the king, who was Henry III. a present of one mark of gold to defer his punishment. His majesty notwithstanding would certainly have hanged Mossy upon a gallows had not the other Jews, says prior Richard, to save that disgrace to the law of Moses, given the king one hundred pounds

pounds more ; and then Mossy took his oath to leave England, never to return.

To do prior Richard justice, he well deserved what he was likely to have met with from Mossy ; for in the chartulary are several charters by which he authorises the Jews to settle under him, *quietly, peaceably, and honourably at Dunstable, and there to make profit of their trade, according to the custom of the Jews* ; for which they are to pay to him two silver spoons every year of their lives. But the most extraordinary transaction of all was, that the good fathers used to borrow money from those Jews, and to give them mortgages upon their livings for their repayment, as appears from this chartulary was the case of one William Huseburn ; and prior Richard was obliged to pay the mortgage, otherwise, as the charter expresses it, he could not have recovered the living out of the hands of the Jew.

Perhaps one of the most curious particulars to be learned from this chartulary is, that it was a very common thing at that time in England, for clergymen to have wives or concubines, and to leave their benefices, from father to son ; as was the case of the living of Bradburn mentioned in this chartulary to have descended from father to son for four generations.

We are now obliged to take another great stride over vast heaps of parliamentary, curial, and devotional tracts, till we come to N°. 1900, containing a most curious collection of Trevisa, vicar of Berkeley and chaplain to the lord of that name, about the year 1387, under Richard II. This Trevisa, even at that time, seems to have been a strong anti-papalist ; and in a dialogue here inserted between his lord and himself he very warmly impugns the papal usurpations in temporal matters. The reader may very easily conceive that his English is very antiquated ; and it is observeable, that at this time, and long after, our ancestors made use of the Saxon *p* as the Greeks did of their *θ*, to express the sound of *Th*. Bale, archbishop Usher, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Wanley, and our greatest English antiquaries, appear, by the care they have taken to investigate and retrieve his writings, to have been extremely fond of this author ; and it seems to have been admitted, that he translated into English the whole Bible ; so that, upon the whole, his memory disputes even with that of Wickliff, the glory of his being the first English reformer,

The next, N°. 1901, contains a paper-book given to the earl of Oxford by colonel Worsley, containing the second part of

Sir

Sir Thomas Roe's negotiations in Germany, for bringing about the restoration of the Palatine family. The experience, the abilities, and the application of Sir Thomas, as a minister, have been long acknowledged; but he appears in the collection before us to have been, by principle and inclination, a warm friend to the cause he solicited. He was under the disadvantage, during the period of the negotiations now before us, of his king being himself involved in a bloody and unfortunate war with his own subjects: so that whatever weight Sir Thomas found in foreign courts, was owing to his own address and merit, as his master was void of all power to enforce either his threats or promises. Notwithstanding this, it is incredible with what constancy he supported his character; and it was he who actually laid the foundation of the negotiations that restored the Palatine. In many parts of his dispatches he foretells the danger of France growing too powerful for the liberties of England and Europe; and he bewails the civil distractions of his own country, by which, for his loyalty to Charles I. he was stripped to the last shilling. "The count de Harcourt, says he in one of his letters to the queen of Bohemia from London, is gone without any effect, being only feasted in London by young Griffin to the tune of 400 *l.* a sum that would now keep him (Sir Thomas) who had been feasted of many kings, all his life; his rents and means being taken from him he knows not why."

After an exhibition of many tracts relating to Gray's-Inn and other law-matters, with numbers of devotional manuscripts, we come, N<sup>o</sup>. 1920, to the amazing "heraldical and other manuscripts; bought of the executors of Randle Holme late citizen and arms-painter of Chester." This Randle Holme was, I perceive, the third of that name who had successively applied themselves in making this collection; and the losses their family had met with during the civil wars, by their attachment to the royal family, brought them so low, that Mr. Wanley knew the son of the third Randle to live a drawer at an inn. The most part of this collection seems to have been made for topographical, genealogical, ecclesiastical, and civil descriptions of the county-palatine of Chester, and other counties on the borders of Wales; and it consists of some thousands of most important articles for that purpose. Amongst other antiquities we perceive an original charter of king Edgar, dated 958, of which Mr. Wanley gives a specimen of the characters by which Chester is expressed.

Amongst the other families mentioned in this collection is that of Vernon, N<sup>o</sup>. 2008, article 10; where "Sir Rauffe  
Vernon



Vernon is said to have been a bastard and a vigorous man. He saw his great-grandson married, and settled lands upon that marriage, and lived seven score and ten (150) years.

In N<sup>o</sup>. 2013 of this collection of Holmes, we have a curious account of the Whitson plays exhibited yearly from 1327 and 28 to 1600, relating to the several companies of the city of Chester. Those plays, we are not to imagine, were peculiar to Chester; many other counties had particular sets of their own; and they generally were taken from scripture, beginning with the creation and fall of Lucifer, and ending with the general judgment of the world. This article admits of many curious observations, which we have here no room for inserting.

After getting clear of this prodigious collection, and many others of the same kind, we meet with a curious manuscript of Roberts earl of Radnot, lord privy-seal under Charles II. in which we have the following remarkable stricture, so characteristic of the practice and genius of his government. Speaking of the great rebellion, his lordship says, "Earl Northumberland, who was the great instrument of the new modell, & complied wholly with the independant party, about this time: and who, very honorably, after the said house of peers was shutt-up with a padlock, by the republicans; & when the lord Robarts was sent for out of Cornwall, by messengers from them, and by that power was confined to the county of Essex: the said earl of Northumberland did (in open terms) at the chancery-bar, voluntarily come & take the commonwealth-engagement, in the sight of all the peope, *vizt. I will be true & faithful to the common-wealth of England, without a king & house of lords.* Yet, upon the restitution of his majesty, this earle was made a privy counsellour, & lord lieutenant of the countys of Suffex & Northumberland; whether for those honorable achievements, or for what other cause, men may enquire."

After a vast variety of manuscripts upon all subjects, we come to N<sup>o</sup>. 2251, which is a large collection of dittays, ballads and other poems by the famous John Lydgate monk of Berry; and here a great poetical anachronism is settled; for that poet, instead of dying, as Pitts asserts, in 1440, under Henry VI. appears, from this collection, to have lived till towards the reign of Edward IV. in 1482. This number, which contains no less than 138 articles, is very entertaining; and Mr. Wanley seems inclined to believe, and we think with great reason, that part

at

at least of article 133, entitled "a complaint to an empty purse," and beginning

"To you, my purse, and to non other Wighte:"

was wrote by Chaucer, though no more than the three first stanzas have by editors been published as his; probably because they never saw this manuscript. This, as the lines contain an account of a great part of Chaucer's personal sufferings, we look upon as a most valuable discovery.

After some very interesting anecdotes of Henry VIII. and cardinal Wolsey, and many specimens of old English poetry, some as old as Edward I. we meet with many bundles of office-papers in the reign of queen Ann, which to an indifferent reader is the least valuable part of the collection. They belong'd to the duke of Newcastle, then privy-seal, and grandfather to the present dutchess of Portland. Here we meet with mention of many modern names; and the reader will be astonished at the immense sums, often amounting to two or three millions, under one order, issued out to Mr. Bridges, afterwards duke of Chandos, then pay-master of the forces. Though almost every article is curious, yet we have nothing very striking till we come to N<sup>o</sup>. 2315, which seems to be a book of his own memoirs, written by Fairfax the parliament-general, particularly for the years 1642 and 1644; and he makes honourable mention of the earl of Newcastle, for sending lady Fairfax, whom he had taken prisoner, safely home in his own coach. Some manuscript works of the great reformer Wycliff then succeed. But we shall beg leave to insert Mr. Wanley's observations on N<sup>o</sup>. 2342, which is a vellum manuscript of manual devotions of some English protestant of quality, who was cast into prison wrongfully, according to his own opinion." Wanley, after giving the particulars, says, *I will not affirm that this manual was written by the direction of Edward Seymour duke of Somerset & protector of England, upon his first commitment to the Tower of London, and that the last five prayers were added after his second committment, which ended in his execution. But if this were so, 'tis easy to apprehend how it might come into the hands of that noble but unfortunate lady, the lady Jane Grey; whose marriage with the lord Guildford Dudley, fourth son to the ambitious duke of Northumberland cost them all their lives. But that this book was in the lady Janes hands or possession, and was also looked into by her husband, appears by the three following notes, written in the lower margins.*

The

The farrago of manuscripts upon all subjects, and almost all languages, that immediately follow, might induce us to dwell upon some particulars in it that highly merit the public attention, were we not obliged to hasten to N°. 2393, where we again meet with two copies of the poem upon Edward II. mentioned in our last to have been ascribed to Spencer. In the oldest of those copies we are told it is addressed to queen Elizabeth, who is several times mentioned in the same. The poem begins as follows,

Whie should a wasted spirit spent in woe  
 Discloze the woundes receyv'd within his brest?  
 Is't not ynowgh that fortune proves his foe,  
 In whose sad frownes is fouldled his un-rest?  
 Is't not ynowgh to knowe himselfe distrest?  
 Oh noe? furcharged hartes must needs complayn;  
 Some eaz it is, though small, to tell our payn.

The other copy is revised and corrected by many alterations, additions and omissions, and, as appears from several passages of it, was fitted up for the perusal of James I. and consists of 581 stanzas, of which the first is as follows.

I singe thy sad disafter, fatal king,  
 Carnarvan-Edward, second of that name:  
 Thy mynions pryde; thy states ill manageing;  
 Thie peeres revolt; the sequell of the same.  
 Thy life, thy death, I sing; thy sinne, thy shame;  
 And how thou wert deprived of thy crowne;  
 In highest fortunes cast, by fortune, downe.

The reader of any taste will easily perceive the plaintive turn, and the pathos of Spencer, in the first specimen; but the second has a plan and a quaintness in it, that is not characteristical of Spencer. Besides, according to all accounts he died before the accession of king James to the English throne. If we might hazard a conjecture, the latter might have been a prepared copy for that monarch's use by Spencer's friend and panegyrist Phineas Fletcher; or perhaps Fletcher was the author of the whole; though we know of no disafter which could induce that gentleman to sign himself as he does at the end of this poem, Infortunio.

The part which Mr. Wanley took in this catalogue ends at N°. 2408; and then it is taken up by Mr. Casley, who had not abilities equal to Mr. Wanley. We have hitherto been silent as to a great number of manuscripts of the classics that are in this collection; but as neither of the compilers talents lay in that



that kind of learning we have very few particulars about them. Amongst great numbers of the fathers, mention is made of a manuscript of Augustine's confessions, near 600 years old, that had belonged to the great lord Burleigh; and several other manuscripts of the fathers are to be met with 6 or 700 years old.

N<sup>o</sup>. 3638 consists of 24 articles of interesting letters and memoirs, by the greatest military men of the reigns of queen Elizabeth and king James; and there follow great numbers of formularies, registers, briefs, histories, chronicles, and tracts of all kinds, relating to the antient, civil, and ecclesiastical histories of England and other countries. N<sup>o</sup>. 3720, in particular, is a register of Antony de Beck, bishop of Norwich, who, if we mistake not, lived in the reign of Edward I. and II. in which are the following curious particulars, that the parish churches in England (Wales we suppose not included) were no more than 4626. That the villæ (which we suppose includes burroughs, towns, and villages) were 5280; and that the knights fees were 60,215, of which the religious held 28,015. Of bishoprics were 17, and the cities 19. That the whole tythes raised in Scotland, by the last taxation, was 3947*l.* 19*s.* 8*d.* that of Ireland 1647*l.* 16*s.* 3*d.* that of England and Wales 20,872*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

N<sup>o</sup>. 3783, 4, and 5, we meet with letters to Dr. Sandcroft, archbishop of Canterbury, from the year 1628 to the year 1688; and the next number, which consists of 24 articles, is a miscellaneous collection, made by the same prelate, who was himself a great antiquary. By the titles the papers seem to be very curious. We have here, likewise, three numbers, containing an amazing number of letters, written from learned men to Mr. Wanley, from 1692 to 1725. In N<sup>o</sup>. 3790, mention is made of one Alexander Murray, first bishop of Virginia. In N<sup>o</sup>. 3846, mention is made of a Latin life of David king of the Scots, by Aildred, abbot of Rivallis or Rivaulx, in Yorkshire, who was his cotemporary. If this work is distinct from the history of the war of the standard, (written by the same abbot) where that prince was defeated, it must be a valuable antiquity. We are bewildered in the vast number of fathers, classics, histories, lives, and records, all in manuscript, that now follow. N<sup>o</sup>. 4520, contains no fewer than 179 historical tracts in Latin, French, and Spanish.

Numbers 4525, 6, 7, 8, 9, 30, are collections of letters relating to the affairs of Holland, from the year 1656 to the year 1662,

most of them collected by Jac. Aug. Thuanus, and in French. All the numbers that follow to 4552, relate to negotiations and dispatches within the same period; as do a vast number of other numbers afterwards. N<sup>o</sup>. 4616, is an Italian grammar, by Matthew Prior, Esq; whose dependence on lord Oxford is well known. N<sup>o</sup>. 4694 contains 10 important and curious articles relating to the history of Scotland, under the Brucean family; as do many other articles, scattered up and down, in other parts of the catalogue. Amongst the great number of manuscripts that now follow, are numbers in Greek and Hebrew, though here and there we meet with vast variety of tracts relating to private families, and the general history of England, particularly in the 13th article of N<sup>o</sup>. 5804, there is a letter or remonstrance to the pope, complaining of the infringement of the privileges of the king of England, in regard to the king of Scotland, dated at Lincoln, February 12, 1300; which letter was subscribed by 96 persons of the first rank in the kingdom, and here all their seals are annexed. We have next a great number of pedigrees of the most eminent families of England, by the most eminent heralds. From N<sup>o</sup>. 5892 to N<sup>o</sup>. 5998, is a greater number of materials for a general history of printing, (especially in England) collected by Mr. John Bagford, than is to be found in all the world besides. Thousands of more pedigrees, stems, and cases now follow; and amongst others, are many of the papers of Glover, Somerset herald. N<sup>o</sup>. 6164, is a folio book, written on vellum, containing the arms in colours, and pedigrees of families, in the county of Suffex, taken at the visitation in the year 1634, amounting to upwards of 600 names. N<sup>o</sup>. 6196, is a transcript of a most curious manuscript, mostly upon chronological affairs, transcribed by the late Mr. Harbin from a manuscript lent to him by Mr. Dodwell. N<sup>o</sup>. 6345, is in folio, and contains copies of letters sent by cardinal Woolsey to the king's ambassadors at Rome, and other courts, concerning the wars in Italy, the Low Countries, &c. with other matters that brought on the Spanish descent upon England in 1588. This copy was given to lord Oxford, by John lord De la War 1737; and is said to be the most complete of any other.

The materials of all kinds that now follow, for a history of England from the reformation to the union of the two crowns, are so various, so important, and so bewildering, and this article being grown to such a length, we are obliged here to leave many manuscripts unmentioned, of equal, perhaps superior, value to any we have taken notice of.

[By perusing the following article, the reader will perceive, that how subject soever we, the Reviewers, may be to oversights and errors, we are not so hardened in critical pride and insolence, but that, upon conviction, we can retract our censures, and provided we be candidly rebuked, kiss the rod of correction with great humility.]

ART. IV. *The Epigoniad. A poem. In nine books. By William Wilkie, V. D. M. The second edition, carefully corrected and improved. To which is added a Dream, in the manner of Spenser. 12mo. Price 3s. Millar.*

To the Authors of the CRITICAL REVIEW.

GENTLEMEN,

THE great advantages which result from literary journals have recommended the use of them all over Europe; but as nothing is free from abuse, it must be confessed, that some inconveniencies have also attended these undertakings. The works of the learned multiply in such a surprising manner, that a journalist, in order to give an account to the public of all new performances, is obliged to peruse a small library every month; and as it is impossible for him to bestow equal attention on every piece which he criticizes, he may readily be surprised into mistakes, and give to a book such a character as, on a more careful perusal, he would willingly retract. Even performances of the greatest merit are not secure against this injury, and, perhaps, are sometimes the most exposed to it. An author of genius scorns the vulgar arts of catching applause; he pays no court to the great; gives no adulation to those celebrated for learning; takes no care to provide himself of partizans, or *proneurs*, as the French call them; and by that means his work steals unobserved into the world; and it is some time before the public, and even men of penetration, are sensible of its merit. We take up the book with prepossession, peruse it carelessly, are feebly affected by its beauties, and lay it down with neglect, perhaps with disapprobation.

The public has done so much justice to the gentlemen engaged in the Critical Review, as to acknowledge that no literary journal was ever carried on in this country with equal spirit and impartiality; yet I must confess, that an article published in your Review of 1757, gave me great surprize, and not a little uneasiness. It regarded a book called the *Epigoniad*, a poem of the Epic kind, which was at that time published with



great applause at Edinburgh, and of which a few copies had been sent up to London. The author of that article had surely been lying under strong prepossessions, when he spoke so negligently of a work which abounds in such sublime beauties, and could endeavour to discredit a poem, consisting of near six thousand lines, on account of a few mistakes in expression and prosody, proceeding entirely from the author's being a Scotchman, who had never been out of his own country. As there is a new edition published of this poem, wherein all or most of these trivial mistakes are corrected, I flatter myself that you will gladly lay hold of this opportunity of retracting your oversight, and doing justice to a performance, which may, perhaps, be regarded as one of the ornaments of our language. I appeal from your sentence, as an old woman did from a sentence pronounced by Philip of Macedon : I appeal from Philip, ill-counselled and in a hurry, to Philip well-advised, and judging with deliberation. The authority which you possess with the public makes your censure fall with weight ; and I question not but you will be the more ready on that account to redress any injury, into which either negligence, prejudice, or mistake, may have betrayed you. As I profess myself to be an admirer of this performance, it will afford me pleasure to give you a short analysis of it, and to collect a few specimens of those great beauties in which it abounds.

The author, who appears throughout his whole work to be a great admirer, and imitator of Homer, drew the subject of this poem from the fourth Iliad, where Sthenelus gives Agamemnon a short account of the sacking Thebes. After the fall of those heroes, celebrated by Statius, their sons, and among the rest Diomede, undertook the siege of that city, and were so fortunate as to succeed in their enterprize, and to revenge on the Thebans and the tyrant Creon, the death of their fathers. These young heroes were known to the Greeks under the title of the Epigoni, or the Descendants ; and for this reason the author has given to his poem the title of Epigoniad ; a name, it must be confessed, somewhat unfortunately chosen : for as this particular was known only to a very few of the learned, the public were not able to conjecture what could be the subject of the poem, and were apt to neglect what it was impossible for them to understand.

There remained a tradition among the Greeks, that Homer had taken this second siege of Thebes for the subject of a poem, which is lost ; and our author seems to have pleased himself with the thoughts of reviving the work, as well as of treading

in the footsteps of his favourite author. The actors are mostly the same with those of the *Iliad*; Diomedes is the hero; Ulysses, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Nestor, Idomeneus, Merion, even Thersites, all appear in different passages of the poem; and act parts suitable to the lively characters drawn of them by that great master. The whole turn of this new poem would almost lead us to imagine, that the Scottish bard had found the lost manuscript of that father of poetry, and had made a faithful translation of it into English. Longinus imagines, that the *Odyssey* was executed by Homer in his old age: we shall allow the *Iliad* to be the work of his middle age; and we shall suppose, that the *Epigoniad* was the essay of his youth, where his noble and sublime genius breaks forth by frequent intervals, and gives strong symptoms of that constant flame which distinguished its meridian.

The poem consists of nine books. We shall open up the subject of it in the author's own words.

‘Ye pow’rs of song! with whose immortal fire  
Your bard inraptur’d sung Pelides’ ire,  
To Greece so fatal, when in evil hour,  
He brav’d, in stern debate, the sov’reign pow’r,  
By like example, teach me now to show  
From love, no less, what dire disasters flow.  
For when the youth of Greece, by Theseus led,  
Return’d to conquer where their fathers bled,  
And punish guilty Thebes, by heav’n ordain’d  
For perfidy to fall, and oaths profan’d;  
Venus, still partial to the Theban arms,  
Tydeus’ son seduc’d by female charms;  
Who, from his plighted faith by passion sway’d,  
The chiefs, the army, and himself betray’d.

‘This theme did once your fav’rite bard employ,  
Whose verse immortaliz’d the fall of Troy:  
But time’s oblivious gulf, whose circle draws  
All mortal things by fate’s eternal laws,  
In whose wide vortex worlds themselves are tost,  
And rounding swift successively are lost,  
This song hath snatch’d. I now resume the strain,  
Not from proud hope and emulation vain,  
By this attempt to merit equal praise  
With worth heroic, born in happier days.  
Sooner the weed, that with the Spring appears,  
And in the Summer’s heat its blossom bears,

But, shriv'ling at the touch of Winter hoar,  
 Sinks to its native earth, and is no more ;  
 Might match the lofty oak, which long hath stood,  
 From age to age, the monarch of the wood.  
 But love excites me, and desire to trace  
 His glorious steps, tho' with unequal pace.  
 Before me still I see his awful shade,  
 With garlands crown'd of leaves which never fade;  
 He points the path to fame, and bids me scale  
 Parnassus' slipp'ry height, where thousands fail :  
 I follow trembling ; for the cliffs are high,  
 And hov'ring round them watchful harpies fly,  
 To snatch the poet's wreath with envious claws,  
 And hiss contempt for merited applause.'

The poet supposes that Cassandra, the daughter of the king of Pelignium in Italy, was pursued by the love of Echetus, a barbarous tyrant in the neighbourhood ; and as her father rejected his addresses, he drew on himself the resentment of the tyrant, who made war upon him, and forced him to retire into Etolia, where Diomede gave him protection. This hero falls himself in love with Cassandra, and is so fortunate as to make equal impressions on her heart ; but before the completion of his marriage, he is called to the siege of Thebes, and leaves, as he supposes, Cassandra in Etolia with her father. But Cassandra, anxious for her lover's safety, and unwilling to part from the object of her affections, had secretly put on a man's habit, had attended him in the camp, and had fought by his side in all his battles. Mean while the siege of Thebes is drawn out to some length ; and Venus, who favours that city, in opposition to Juno and Pallas, who seek its destruction, deliberates concerning the proper method of raising the siege. The fittest expedient seems to be the exciting in Diomede a jealousy of Cassandra, and persuading him, that her affections were secretly engaged to Echetus, and that the tyrant had invaded Etolia in pursuit of his mistress : for this purpose Venus sends down Jealousy, whom the author personifies under the name of Zelotypé. Her person and flight are painted in the most splendid colours that poetry affords.

' First to her feet the winged shoes she binds,  
 Which tread the air, and mount the rapid winds ;  
 Aloft they bear her thro' th' ethereal plain,  
 Above the solid earth and liquid main ;  
 Her arrows next she takes of pointed steel,  
 For sight too small, but terrible to feel ;

Rous'd



Rous'd by their smart, the savage lion roars,  
And mad to combat rush the tusky boars,  
Of wounds secure; for where their venom lights,  
What feels their power all other torment flights,  
A figur'd zone, mysteriously design'd,  
Around her waist her yellow robe confin'd :  
There dark Suspicion lurk'd, of sable hue ;  
There hasty Rage his deadly dagger drew ;  
Pale Envy inly pin'd ; and by her side  
Stood Phrenzy, raging with his chains unty'd ;  
Affronted Pride with thirst of vengeance burn'd,  
And Love's excess to deepest hatred turn'd.  
All these the artist's curious hand express'd,  
The work divine his matchless skill confess'd.  
The virgin last, around her shoulders flung  
The bow ; and by her side the quiver hung :  
Then, springing up, her airy course she bends  
For Thebes ; and lightly o'er the tents descends.  
The son of Tydeus, 'midst his bands, she found  
In arms compleat, reposing on the ground ;  
And, as he slept, the hero thus address'd,  
Her form to fancy's waking eye express'd.'

Diomede, moved by the instigations of jealousy, and eager to defend his mistress and his country, calls an assembly of the princes, and proposes to raise the siege of Thebes, on account of the difficulty of the enterprize and dangers which surround the army. Theseus, the general, breaks out into a passion at this proposal ; but is pacified by Nestor. Idomeneus rises, and reproaches Diomede for his dishonourable counsel ; and among other topics upbraids him with his degeneracy from his father's bravery.

' Should now, from hence arriv'd, some warrior's ghost  
Greet valiant Tydeus on the Stygian coast,  
And tell, when danger or distress is near,  
That Diomed persuades the rest to fear ;  
He'd shun the synod of the mighty dead,  
And hide his anguish in the deepest shade :  
Nature in all an equal course maintains ;  
The lion's whelp succeeds to awe the plains ;  
Pards gender pards ; from tygers tygers spring ;  
No doves are hatch'd beneath a vultur's wing :  
Each parent's image in his offspring lives ;  
But nought of Tydeus in his son survives.'

The debate is closed by Ulysses, who informs the princes that the Thebans are preparing to march out in order to attack them; and that it is vain for them to deliberate any longer concerning the continuance of the war.

We have next the description of a battle between the Thebans under Creon, and the confederate Greeks under Theseus. This battle is full of the spirit of Homer. We shall not trouble our reader with particulars, which would appear insipid in prose, especially if compared to the lively poetry of our author. We shall only transcribe one passage, as a specimen of his happy choice of circumstances.

‘ Next Arcas, Cleon, valiant Chromius, dy’d ;  
 With Dares, to the Spartan chiefs ally’d.  
 And Phœmius, whom the Gods in early youth  
 Had form’d for virtue and the love of truth ;  
 His gen’rous soul to noble deeds they turn’d,  
 And love to mankind in his bosom burn’d :  
 Cold thro’ his throat the hissing weapon glides,  
 And on his neck the waving locks divides.  
 His fate the Graces mourn’d. The Gods above,  
 Who sit around the starry throne of Jove,  
 On high Olympus bending from the skies,  
 His fate beheld with sorrow-streaming eyes.  
 Pallas alone, unalter’d and serene,  
 With secret triumph saw the mournful scene :  
 Not hard of heart ; for none of all the pow’rs,  
 In earth or ocean, or th’ Olympian tow’rs,  
 Holds equal sympathy with human grief,  
 Or with a freer hand bestows relief ;  
 But conscious that a mind by virtue steel’d,  
 To no impression of distress will yield ;  
 That, still unconquer’d, in its awful hour  
 O’er death it triumphs with immortal pow’r.’

The battle ends with advantage to the confederate Greeks ; but the approach of night prevents their total victory.

Creon, king of Thebes, sends next an embassy to the confederate Greeks, desiring a truce of seven days, in order to bury the dead. Diomedes, impatient to return home, and stimulated by jealousy, violently opposes this overture, but is over-ruled by the other princes ; and the truce is concluded. The author, in imitation of Homer, and the other antient poets, takes here an opportunity of describing games celebrated for honouring the dead. The games he has chosen are different from those which  
 are

are to be found among the antients, and the incidents are new and curious.

Diomede took no share in these games : his impatient spirit could not brook the delay which arose from the truce : he pretends that he consented not to it, and is not included in it : he therefore proposes to his troops to attack the Thebans, while they are employed in performing the funeral rites of the dead ; but is opposed in this design by Deiphobus, his tutor, who represents to him in the severest terms the rashness and iniquity of his proposal. After some altercation Diomede, impatient of contradiction in his favourite object, and stung by the free reproaches of his tutor, breaks out into a violent passion, and throws his spear at Deiphobus, which pierced him to the heart.

This incident, which is apt to surprise us, seems to have been copied by our author, from that circumstance in the life of Alexander, where this heroic conqueror, moved by a sudden passion, stabs Clytus, his antient friend, by whom his life had been formerly saved in battle. The repentance of Diomede is equal to that of Alexander. No sooner had he struck the fatal blow than his eyes are opened : he is sensible of his guilt and shame : he refuses all consolation : abstains even from food ; and shuts himself up alone in his tent. His followers, amazed at the violence of his passion, keep at a distance from him ; all but Cassandra, who enters his tent with a potion, which she had prepared for him. While she stands before him alone, her timidity and passion betray her sex ; and Diomede immediately perceives her to be Cassandra, who had followed him to the camp under a warlike disguise. As his repentance for the murder of Deiphobus was now the ruling passion in his breast, he is not moved by tenderness for Cassandra : on the contrary, he considers her as the cause, however innocent, of the murder of his friend and of his own guilt ; and he treats her with such coldness that she retires in confusion. She even leaves the camp, and resolves to return to her father in Etolia ; but is taken on the road by a party of Thebans, who carry her to Creon. That tyrant determines to make the most political use of this incident : he sends privately a message to Diomede, threatening to put Cassandra to death, if that hero would not agree to a separate truce with Thebes. This proposal is at first rejected by Diomede, who threatens immediate destruction to Creon and all his race. Nothing can be more artfully managed by the poet than this incident. We shall hear him in his own words.

‘ Sternly



' Sternly the hero ended, and resign'd,  
 To fierce disorder, all his mighty mind.  
 Already in his thoughts, with vengeful hands,  
 He dealt destruction 'midst the Theban bands,  
 In fancy saw the tott'ring turrets fall,  
 And led his warriors o'er the level'd wall.  
 Rous'd with the thought, from his high seat he sprung;  
 And grasp'd the sword, which on a column hung;  
 The shining blade he balanc'd thrice in air;  
 His launces next he view'd, and armor fair.  
 When, hanging 'midst the costly panoply,  
 A scarf embroider'd met the hero's eye,  
 Which fair Cassandra's skilful hands had wrought;  
 A present for her lord, in secret brought,  
 That day, when first he led his martial train  
 In arms, to combat on the Theban plain.  
 As some strong charm, which magic sounds compose,  
 Suspends a downward torrent as it flows;  
 Checks in the precipice its headlong course,  
 And calls it trembling upwards to its source:  
 Such seem'd the robe, which, to the hero's eyes,  
 Made the fair artist in her charms to rise.  
 His rage, suspended in its full career,  
 To love resigns, to grief and tender fear.  
 Glad would he now his former words revoke,  
 And change the purpose which in wrath he spoke;  
 From hostile hands his captive fair to gain,  
 From fate to save her, or the servile chain:  
 But pride, and shame, the fond design suppress;  
 Silent he stood, and lock'd it in his breast.  
 Yet had the wary Theban well divin'd,  
 By symptoms sure, each motion of his mind:  
 With joy he saw the heat of rage suppress'd;  
 And thus again his artful words address'd.'

The truce is concluded for twenty days; but the perfidious Creon, hoping that Diomedes would be over-awed by the danger of his mistress, resolves to surprise the Greeks; and accordingly makes a sudden attack upon them, breaks into their camp, and carries every thing before him. Diomedes at first stands neuter; but when Ulysses suggests to him, that, after the defeat of the confederate Greeks he has no security; and that so treacherous a prince as Creon will not spare, much less restore, Cassandra, he takes to arms, assaults the Thebans, and obliges them to seek shelter within their walls. Creon, in revenge, puts Cassandra to death, and shows her head over the walls. The sight so inflames Diomedes,

mede, that he attacks Thebes with double fury, takes the town by scalade, and gratifies his vengeance by the death of Creon.

This is a short abstract of the story, on which this new poem is founded. The reader may perhaps conjecture (what I am not very anxious to conceal) that the execution of the *Epigoniad* is better than the design, the poetry superior to the fable, and the colouring of the particular parts more excellent than the general plan of the whole. Of all the great Epic poems which have been the admiration of mankind, the *Jerusalem* of Tasso alone would make a tolerable novel, if reduced to prose, and related without that splendor of versification and imagery by which it is supported: yet in the opinion of many great judges, the *Jerusalem* is the least perfect of all these productions; chiefly, because it has least nature and simplicity in the sentiments, and is most liable to the objection of affectation and conceit. The story of a poem, whatever may be imagined, is the least essential part of it: the force of the versification, the vivacity of the images, the justness of the descriptions, the natural play of the passions, are the chief circumstances which distinguish the great poet from the prosaic novelist, and give him so high a rank among the heroes in literature: and I will venture to affirm, that all these advantages, especially the three former, are to be found in an eminent degree in the *Epigoniad*. The author, inspired with the true genius of Greece, and smit with the most profound veneration for Homer, disdains all frivolous ornaments; and relying entirely on his sublime imagination, and his nervous and harmonious expression, has ventured to present to his reader the naked beauties of nature, and challenges for his partizans all the admirers of genuine antiquity.

There is one circumstance in which the poet has carried his boldness of copying antiquity beyond the practice of many, even judicious moderns. He has drawn his personages, not only with all the simplicity of the Grecian heroes, but also with some degree of their roughness, and even of their ferocity. This is a circumstance which a mere modern is apt to find fault with in Homer, and which, perhaps, he will not easily excuse in his imitator. It is certain, that the ideas of manners are so much changed since the age of Homer, that though the *Iliad* was always among the antients conceived to be a panegyric on the Greeks, yet the reader is now almost always on the side of the Trojans, and is much more interested for the humane and soft manners of Priam, Hector, Andromache, Sarpedon, Æneas, Glaucus, nay, even of Paris and Helen, than for the severe and  
cruel

cruel bravery of Achilles, Agamemnon, and the other Grecian heroes. Sensible of this inconvenience, Fenelon, in his elegant romance, has softened extremely the harsh manners of the heroic ages, and has contented himself with retaining that amiable simplicity by which these ages were distinguished. If the reader be displeased, that the British poet has not followed the example of the French writer, he must, at least, allow, that he has drawn a more exact and faithful copy of antiquity, and has made fewer sacrifices of truth to ornament.

There is another circumstance of our author's choice which will be liable to dispute. It may be thought, that by introducing the heroes of Homer, he has lost all the charms of novelty, and leads us into fictions, which are somewhat stale and thread-bare. Boileau, the greatest critic of the French nation, was of a very different opinion.

“ La fable offre a l'esprit mille agréments divers  
Là tous les noms heureux semblent nez pour les vers :  
Ulyffe, Agamemnon, Oreste, Idomenée,  
Helene, Menelas, Paris, Hector, Enee.”

It is certain that there is in that poetic ground a kind of enchantment which allures every person of a tender and lively imagination : nor is this impression diminished, but rather much encreased, by our early introduction to the knowledge of it in our perusal of the Greek and Latin classics.

The same great French critic makes the apology of our poet in his use of the antient mythology.

“ Ainsi dans cet amas de nobles fictions,  
Le poetes'egaye en mille inventions,  
Orne, eleve, embellit, agrandit toutes choses,  
Et trouve sons sa main des fleurs toujours ecloses.”

It would seem, indeed, that if the machinery of the heathen gods be not admitted, Epic poetry, at least all the marvellous part of it, must be entirely abandoned. The christian religion, for many reasons, is unfit for the fabulous ornaments of poetry : the introduction of allegory, after the manner of Voltaire, is liable to many objections : and though a mere historical Epic poem, like Leonidas, may have its beauties, it will always be inferior to the force and pathetic of tragedy, and must resign to that species of poetry the precedency which the former composition has always challenged among the productions of human genius. But with regard to these particulars, the author has  
himself



himself made a sufficient apology in the judicious and spirited preface, which accompanies his poem.

But though our poet has, in general, followed so successfully the footsteps of Homer, he has, in particular passages, chosen other antient poets for his model. His seventh book contains an episode, very artfully inserted, concerning the death of Hercules; where he has plainly had Sophocles in his view, and has ventured to engage in a rivalry with that great master of the tragic scene. If the sublimity of our poet's imagination, and the energy of his stile appears any where conspicuous, it is in this episode, which we shall not scruple to compare with any poetry in the English language. Nothing can be more pathetic than the complaints of Hercules, when the poison of the centaur's robe begins first to prey upon him.

‘ Sov’reign of heav’n and earth ! whose boundless sway  
The fates of men and mortal things obey !  
If e’er delighted from the courts above,  
In human form, you sought Alcmena’s love ;  
If fame’s unchanging voice to all the earth,  
With truth, proclaims you author of my birth ;  
Whence, from a course of spotless glory run,  
Successful toils and wreaths of triumph won,  
Am I thus wretched ? better, that before  
Some monster fierce had drunk my streaming gore ;  
Or crush’d by Cacus, foe to gods and men,  
My batter’d brains had strew’d his rocky den :  
Than, from my glorious toils and triumphs past,  
To fall subdu’d by female arts, at last.  
O cool my boiling blood, ye winds, that blow  
From mountains loaded with eternal snow,  
And crack the icy cliffs : in vain ! in vain !  
Your rigor cannot quench my raging pain !  
For round this heart the furies wave their brands,  
And wring my entrails with their burning hands.  
Now bending from the skies, O wife of Jove !  
Enjoy the vengeance of thy injur’d love :  
For fate, by me, the Thund’rer’s guilt atones ;  
And, punish’d in her son, Alcmena groans :  
The object of your hate shall soon expire ;  
Fix’d on my shoulders preys a net of fire :  
Whom nor the toils nor dangers could subdue,  
By false Eurystheus dictated from you ;  
Nor tyrants lawless, nor the monstrous brood,  
Which haunts the desert or infests the flood,  
Nor

Nor Greece, nor all the barb'rous climes that lie  
 Where Phœbus ever points his golden eye;  
 A woman hath o'erthrown! ye gods! I yield  
 To female arts, unconquer'd in the field.  
 My arms—alas! are these the same that bow'd  
 Antæus, and his giant force subdu'd?  
 That dragg'd Nemea's monster from his den;  
 And slew the dragon in his native fen?  
 Alas, alas! their mighty muscles fail,  
 While pains infernal ev'ry nerve assail:  
 Alas, alas! I feel in streams of woe  
 These eyes dissolv'd, before untaught to flow.  
 Awake my virtue, oft in dangers try'd,  
 Patient in toils, in deaths unterrify'd,  
 Rouse to my aid; nor let my labors past,  
 With fame achiev'd, be blotted by the last:  
 Firm and unmov'd, the present shock endure;  
 Once triumph, and for ever rest secure.'

Our poet, though his genius be in many respects very original, has not disdained to imitate even modern poets. He has added to his heroic poem a dream, in the manner of Spenser, where the poet supposes himself to be introduced to Homer, who censures his poem in some particulars, and excuses it in others. This poem is indeed a species of apology for the *Epigoniad*, wrote in a very lively and elegant manner: it may be compared to a well-polished gem, of the purest water, and cut into the most beautiful form. Those who would judge of our author's talents for poetry, without perusing his larger work, may satisfy their curiosity, by running over this short poem: They will see the same force of imagination and harmony of numbers, which distinguish his longer performance; and may thence, with small application, receive a favourable impression of our author's genius.

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ART. V. *Sermons on Practical Christianity*, by Henry Stebbing, D. D. archdeacon of Wilts, chancellor of the diocese of Sarum, and late preacher to the honourable society of Gray's-Inn. 8vo. Price 5s. Davis and Reymers.

THE pious and learned Doctor, in his dedication of these sermons to the masters of the bench of the honourable society of Gray's-Inn, returns them his thanks for having chosen his son to succeed him, since the infirmities of age began to make the burthen of it too heavy for him.

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‘ It is my great comfort, says the doctor, that he meets with your approbation; and I doubt not but that he will continue to deserve it.’ We dare say every one who is acquainted with Mr. Stebbing will be of the same opinion.

The abilities of the author before us are too well known and too generally acknowledged to need such encomiums on them as we are heartily disposed to bestow. Quotations from sermons are not to be conveniently made; however we shall present the reader with one, which, as it will give him an opportunity of judging of the writer’s stile, so at the same time, we imagine, it will afford him pleasure as well as improvement. The passage intended is in the seventh sermon, on the well known parable of Dives and Lazarus; and which the doctor has explained in a manner very different from any that we have ever read before. We have a further reason for making the following quotation, which is, that in it the doctor nobly asserts that mere morality without religion is not acceptable to God.

‘ We now see, says the doctor, the spirit and temper of this poor beggar. He trusted in God, and had an eye to *the recompence of reward*. The temper of the rich man (we may therefore presume) was opposite to this. He had great affluence, but had forgot his maker: no uncommon effect of plentiful circumstances, and uninterrupted prosperity! There is a great affinity between this parable, and that which is set down in the 12th chapter of this gospel, already explained: and yet they seem to point at two different characters. For the rich man in this latter is plainly characterized as a mere epicure, *whose god was his belly*; whose very soul was set upon eating and drinking. But of the rich man in the parable now under our consideration, it is only said that he *lived sumptuously*; which (as I have already observed) does not import that he was either glutton or drunkard. He might have had these, and many other vices; for the text, though it mentions them not, does not exclude them. Therefore as nothing of this kind distinctly appears, I shall, in the use and application of the parable, follow the generality under which our Saviour has left it; and my observation shall be this, that should a man’s moral behaviour be ever so unexceptionable; yet if his heart is estranged from God his condemnation will be just. Such a spirit as this comprehends every thing that is bad; and therefore the psalmist, when he would give us the compleat character of a wicked man, thus describes him; *The wicked will not seek after God; God is not all his thoughts; thy judgments are far above out of his sight*. Psalm x. 4. 5. Such a man as this, if he does right things, does nothing  
upon



upon a right principle. He may be temperate, he may be just, he may be even kind and beneficent; but whilst all this while God is out of the question, God has nothing to do with it, unless it be to resent the wrong, and punish the evil doer. It may be constitution; it may be policy; it may be humanity; it may be what you please; it is not religion. And what is it but religion that can recommend us to God? When a man out of conscience towards God denies himself unlawful things, or does well by his neighbour, it is religion towards God, and God will place such virtue to his account. But when he acquits himself well to the world, without view or regard to God; to the world he sacrificeth, and from the world he is to look for his reward. *Them that honour me (says God) I will honour; and they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed.* 1 Sam. ii. 30. The meaning is, that all such are under the sentence of God, destined to wrath and condemnation; and with great justice, unless you will say, that though there is a respect due to every creature upon earth, God, the maker of all, may be despised with impunity. If every good thing we enjoy is his gift, natural justice requires that he in the first place should be honoured as our benefactor. Gratitude is due to every man who serves under him as an instrument for our good; to our parents, to our relations and friends, to all by whose good offices we have in any way been pleased or profited: much more then must it be due to the first cause of all, from whom these instruments have received the very capacity to serve us. And how shall we shew our gratitude to him? He cannot be benefited again by us, as one man may be profited by another. All we have to offer him, is the tribute of a thankful mind; which is seen when we have him frequently in our thoughts, and direct all our actions, as a homage paid to him. When we reverence him in his word and in his ordinances, and in every part of our conversation behave as under the inspection of his providence, and as accountable to his justice. This is that love and fear of God which constitutes true religion, and which stamps a value upon all duties of the moral kind to make them avail us in the day of judgment. The rich man in the parable seems to have wanted this governing principle. He *looked at the things that are seen*; of *the things that are not seen* he had no thought or conception. And this was ground enough for his condemnation; for this will be the destruction of all who when they eat and are satisfied, render not unto God the glory.

‘ We see then at last, where the sting of Abraham’s reprimand properly lies; *son, remember that thou in thy life-time receivedst thy good things.* It is not that because he had been bountifully provided

vided in this world, therefore he was to fare ill in the next; but because he had received good things with an unthankful mind. And let us remember that we are all of us concerned in this lesson, as well as the rich; for we all of us receive enough of the good things of this life to have cause to be thankful. But we see likewise that what gives merit to poverty, is patience and trust in God, which disdains all helps but what come from him in the way of duty. Some men seem to have no other notion of heaven, than as of an hospital, where the rich are to be excluded, and the poor admitted of course. But as the rich will have the very first title if they behave properly; so poor men, if they would secure their privilege, must take care to be honest and industrious as well as poor. This was Lazarus's case; who, had he been a thief, or an idle, disorderly man, might have died poor enough, (as such wretches commonly do) but you would never have heard of him in Abraham's bosom.'

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ART. VI. *The History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, surnamed the Great. In two vols. By the Rev. Walter Harte, M. A. Canon of Windsor. 4to. Price 1l. 16s. Hawkins.*

**I**T were to be wished that all gentlemen of this country, who have opportunities of travelling, would, in imitation of Mr. Harte, employ these advantages to promote the interests of historical truth and learning. This gentleman has been so happy, as not only to visit the best libraries, whether private or public, which Europe can produce, but also to live in friendship and intimacy with the most distinguished authors of the age, both at home and abroad. In order to employ his leisure hours, he has chosen the laudable task of transmitting to posterity one of the greatest heroes of our northern hemisphere: an hero in all respects, whether we contemplate his valour, his capacity, his piety, his moderation, or his godlike zeal for the liberties of Europe. Not that the great Gustavus Adolphus, whose very name implies an eulogium, was altogether exempt from human infirmities. Instances of his unbridled choler, temerity, and precipitation, will be found in the course of this history; and there are not wanting many who pretend to have discerned through all his other pretexts, that his ruling motive was ambition of conquest and thirst of dominion. Be that as it may, we ought to put the most favourable construction upon his conduct, as he did not live long enough to confirm the suspicion of his enemies; but died

gloriously in supporting those noble principles which he avowed from the beginning of his German expedition. The subject of this performance is not only well chosen with respect to the chief personage, and the importance of the incidents, but likewise, as it necessarily comprehends all the transactions of the continent for the time, and furnishes the author with opportunities of exhibiting a great variety of shining characters, of explaining the politics, and unfolding the intrigues of every cabinet in Europe.

The book is dedicated to the earl of Chesterfield. In the preface, Mr. Harte gives us to understand, that in the earlier parts of his life this undertaking was suggested to him by the late earl of Peterborough, at that time postponed for want of proper materials, and long after resumed when that obstacle was removed. He observes that the life of Gustavus could never have made its entrance into the world at a period more interesting than the present, as the counterpart of the war, in which that prince was engaged, is, after a revolution of one hundred years, rekindled in the self-same countries: the two protestant heroes bear a great resemblance each to the other; the motives are similar, and the provocation parallel.—*Dubitat Augustinus.*

This zeal of lugging religion into every quarrel is truly ecclesiastical. Formerly it was a political pretext, generally attended with the most interesting consequences: at present it is a threadbare pretence, which has very little effect upon the generality of mankind. Every body knows, that the protestant religion suffered neither oppression nor persecution, except the temporal oppression under which the protestants of Saxony have been subjected by the protestant hero; and we fancy Mr. Harte himself will hardly say, that these people have been oppressed for the sake of the protestant religion, unless he supposes, that his Prussian majesty has ruled them with an iron rod, merely for the sake of their souls, as a trial of that \* patience, humility, and

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\* Although Gustavus Adolphus declared himself the protector of the German protestants, he by no means pretended, that his war with the emperor was a war of religion. He was closely allied with the French king, who was surely no protestant: in his treaty with that crown, a neutrality was stipulated for the elector of Bavaria, and all the catholic princes of the league, who should not actually assist the emperor against the Swedes; and Gustavus promised to maintain the Romish religion in every place where it actually prevailed.



resignation, which ought to distinguish the true followers of Christ.

Our author having assured us, that the object and moral of his book is, *that the religious and good man stands the best chance to be the bravest too*, we cannot but wish, that the success should answer his expectation : yet, notwithstanding all that our author says in favour of this hero, there are, we apprehend, little defects in his character, which, if they do not diminish our admiration, at least check our affection for this illustrious Swede. We find few or no marks of liberality in Gustavus : even his courage seems to have been rather a natural insensibility of danger than a sentimental appetite for glory and renown. He seems to have used his soldiers, his officers especially, as machines made for his conveniency, or, to use the words of Falstaff, as *food for powder*. He exposed them to intolerable fatigues, incessant danger, and wants of every kind ; and, after all, hardly thanked them for their trouble. If a gentleman had spent the best part of his life in his service, which, more than any other under the sun, abounded with peril and hardships, he would, for the least peevishness or omission, imprison, dismiss, or treat him with the most mortifying contempt : such was his behaviour to the colonels Douglas and Hepburn, who had served him with equal valour and fidelity. The former he confined in prison, from whence he was, with great difficulty, released, by the interposition of Sir Henry Vane, the English ambassador, but not before Gustavus had branded him with the name of rascal, and sworn, that even though he were in England, he (the Swede) would seek him there, and tear him from the bosom of his sovereign. As for Hepburn, his merits with Gustavus were much greater than those of Douglas ; because he had been longer in his service, and exhibited repeated proofs of extraordinary courage and ability. Without any regard to his character and services, the king treated him one day so roughly, that he resigned his commission, which was received with the most galling indifference. A few days after this incident, Gustavus engaged the Imperialists at Altemberg-castle, where he was very severely handled, and had like to have lost the flower of his army. Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar proposed to attack Walfstein's camp on a different quarter, which was thought more accessible, but he could not find an officer of any consequence to survey the ground ; for they were all employed at their different posts, and the whole was such a scene of slaughter as never had been seen in Germany. In this emergency Hepburn, who stood by him as a spectator, drew his sword, saying, ' This is the only occa-

sion on which I will ever draw it in your service.' The king embraced his offer; he surveyed the ground, and returned with a satisfactory account, for which he was thanked by his majesty, but he never once desired he would reassume his command, nor took the least step towards a reconciliation; so that Hepburn, who was a soldier of fortune, quitted the service.

We cannot help observing the different manner in which this incident is represented by two different authors, namely, Mr. Harte, and Pere Barre in his *History of Germany*. Mr. Harte thinks that Hepburn's declaration, implying that he would never more draw his sword in the service of Gustavus, was harsh, abrupt, and disrespectful, without taking any notice of the provocation he had received; whereas Barre introduces the circumstance as a proof of Hepburn's uncommon magnanimity; that, finding the king in distress, he devoured his resentment, and once more, through pure generosity, exposed his life to the most imminent hazard in his service. Perhaps we may account for these different representations, by observing in a few words, that *Hepburn was a Roman catholic*. Mr. Harte, indeed, is candid enough to say afterwards, that Hepburn was the truest soldier that Scotland (not unfruitful in men of that stamp) ever produced: but we fancy the Scots will not thank our historian for that compliment; conscious that their country has produced, at least, *five thousand as good as he*: yet, granting this to be the case, we think the epithet of *inflexible* would have been more properly applied to the king than to the soldier, as it is the mark of a noble mind in a superior to condescend, when he is conscious of having affronted an inferior.

Now we are talking of our neighbours the Scots, let us observe that we find some national reflections in this performance, which might have been omitted without any impropriety. Mr. Harte takes occasion to say of the Scottish troops in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, that their pride and sloth abated more than one half of their military merit. Let us do justice to our fellow subjects, and ask, who told him so? The Scots are to this day famous all over Europe, for the share they had in that expedition, and Gustavus himself was often loud in their praise; and though upon one occasion, he was displeased with one corps, because they had not made greater progress in a line of intrenchment, this single instance ought not to reflect general terms of reproach upon a body of men, who, according to our historian's own account, marched, in the space of four years, three thousand five hundred and fifteen miles, in all their accoutrements,

ments, with fire-arms much more heavy and unweildy than those that are used at present. This, one would imagine, is no proof of laziness. Mr. Harte, in describing the fate of Walstein, says, that Lesley, Gordon, Butler, Devereux, Burk, and Geraldine, undertook to assassinate him, to the everlasting ignominy of Scotland and Ireland.——If the general characters of nations are to be affected by the crimes of individuals, the Scots and Irish may recriminate upon the English, and indeed upon any people under the sun, in many instances of assassination, treachery, and villainy of the blackest hue; but we apprehend these national reflections are equally unjust and illiberal. The most execrable ruffian may be produced from the most virtuous nation upon earth, without any disparagement to his mother-country, unless it can be proved, that her example nursed and cherished his wicked principles. Heaven forbid that we should attempt to extenuate the crime of assassination! but this of Walstein was attended with such circumstances, as certainly, in some measure, diminish the infamy of the crime. The perpetrators were officers in the Imperial service, and employed by their master to take off a subject who was become too great and formidable for his sovereign: they were bigotted papists, and no doubt persuaded by their spiritual guides, that their duty called upon them to perform an action, which was in itself meritorious. Certain it is in other respects, Gordon and Lesley were men of fair character, who had raised themselves in the Austrian service by their personal virtues, and who behaved with such conduct, courage, and perseverance, against Gustavus Adolphus, in one of his battles, that, the Swedish monarch, struck with admiration at their gallantry and surprising efforts, called out, that if they should be taken he would dismiss them without ransom. By the bye, this digression about the death of the celebrated Walstein, is a sort of anachronism in our author; for that general was not murdered till after the death of Gustavus, which finishes the second volume. This episode, however, is what the Spaniards stile *el Barato*, or what is given into the bargain; and we are obliged to the historian for giving us *gratis*, such an entertaining account of the death of a great man, who makes a principal figure in the war of Gustavus.

Mr. Harte justly foresees, that some people may think he has been too severe upon the memory of Charles I. of England; but he declares, that he has related things simply, without decanting upon them; and that if he had reasoned only upon the several false steps (to say the least of them) then taken with respect to the continent, he might have swelled that single article



cle to half the size of the history before us. Without all doubt, he might have swelled it to twice that bulk, before he would have been able to convince the sensible reader, that it was the part of king Charles I. at this juncture to involve himself in a continental war; the point which our historian labours to establish. But the unfortunate Charles is not only accused of impolitic and pusillanimous conduct, in this particular, as often as our historian could, with propriety, mention his name, but he is likewise taxed with a shameful coldness towards the concerns of his sister; and in one place it is hinted, that he wanted to be an accessory to the meanest rapine.—All the world knows, if all the world would own, that nothing can be more preposterous, nor more pernicious for England, than the practice of intailing upon herself the quarrels of the continent; for there is a wide difference between acting as umpire in a dispute between two neighbours, and seizing the cudgel immediately with a view to engage as a principal in the battle. If one may judge from the disposition of Charles I. we may conclude, that he would have been Don Quixote enough to have plunged himself head and ears in his sister's quarrel, had not the nature of his situation at home rendered it impossible for him to maintain any sort of external war. He was at variance with his commons, and had resolved to reign without further application to parliaments; consequently he could not pretend to wage a new continental war without the concurrence of his people. He found himself absolutely disabled from prosecuting the war, in which he was already engaged with Spain and France, and could not provide for the defence of his own kingdom any other way, than by arming and disciplining the militia of England: how far he was blameable for the conduct which reduced him to this dilemma is another consideration. But it must be owned, that in the midst of all his own distresses, he exerted himself in behalf of Gustavus Adolphus, as well as for the interest of his own sister the queen of Bohemia. He supported that princess and her court at the Hague at a vast expence, and expended large sums in subsidies for her service. He sent over Sir Charles Morgan, at the head of six thousand English troops, who defended Stadt with gallantry. He, by his ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, mediated a peace between Poland and Sweden, in consequence of which Gustavus found himself at liberty to assist the protestant princes of the empire against the house of Austria. Charles was the prince who stimulated the Swede by incessant exhortations to undertake this expedition. He supplied him with the best officers that ever served in his armies: he sent over the marquis of Hamilton to his assistance, with six thousand auxiliaries: he engaged in a strict alliance with him and France,  
and

and granted him a subsidy, which was very considerable, if we reflect upon the disorder of his own finances. He maintained ambassadors continually at the court of Vienna, the diet of the empire, and the protestant league, whose sole aim was to press the restoration of his brother-in-law the elector-palatine; and if he erred at all in this transaction, it was in allowing himself to be cajoled by the promises and protestations of the house of Austria. But with respect to Gustavus, his conduct was always open, generous, and friendly. The Swede owns, in his letters to Charles, that he was the only prince upon earth in whose honour and friendship he could confide; accordingly they corresponded together with the most warm and unreserved cordiality. The king of England, in a letter to Gustavus, puts him in mind of something relating to the pictures and curiosities, which he would find in the palace at Munich, belonging to the elector of Bavaria. Charles was known to be a lover of painting and the liberal arts; and therefore our historian seems to deduce from this hint, that he wanted to swell his collection with the plunder of the electoral-palace. This is surely the most ungenerous construction that could be put on this paragraph of the letter. To judge charitably of Charles, we should imagine his hint referred only to those pictures which had been pilfered from his brother-in-law's collection by the elector of Bavaria, when he executed the ban of the Empire against his cousin the elector-palatine. The electress had received many valuable pieces from her brother Charles king of England, and certainly he had a right to take back that which a robber had carried away: perhaps he imagined, that amidst the tumults of war, and the rapine of the ignorant soldiers, some valuable things might be lost or destroyed, unless they were recommended to the attention of the conqueror; and this, in all probability, was the meaning of that hint which the historian has interpreted to the prejudice of his moral character. Among other fine monuments of the liberal arts taken from the Palatine palace by the elector of Bavaria, was the celebrated picture of Charles I. on horseback, by Vandyke, which had been sent in a present by Charles, to his sister the queen of Bohemia. This very individual piece was afterwards retrieved by the duke of Marlborough, who executed the ban of the empire upon the elector of Bavaria. He transmitted the picture to England; and it now appears on the gallery at Kensington.

Mr. Harte justly claims the merit of having rectified several mistakes which had crept into the history and chronology of the period he has chosen; but the story of Pappenheim's having slain Gustavus, which he is at such pains to refute, was never,

to the best of our recollection, adopted by any creditable historian. Sure we are, that neither Lotychius, Loccenius, Puffendorf, Barre, Heifs, nor Voltaire, mention any such circumstance.

The stile of this performance, for which the author claims some indulgence, requires indeed an apology, as it seems rather the effect of carelessness than of inability. It is, in our opinion, too diffuse, embarrassed with parentheses, stiffened with affected phrases, and interlarded with foreign words and idioms, which the historian contemplates with reverential awe as sacred terms, of which he would not presume to attempt the translation. The *coup d'œil* of the French is no more than our *glance of the eye*, nor a whit more expressive; nor is it with more propriety applied to the excellency of a general in the day of battle. He comprehended the whole scheme at one *glance*.—He perceived at one *glance* the defects of the disposition.

The *Αγνῶσις* of the Greeks is literally englished by the phrase, *presence of mind*; but we apprehend is quite different from the Latin word *acumen*, which implies not only presence of mind, but likewise the *fervidum ingenium*, or acuteness of penetration, which indeed constitutes genius. Presence of mind is the power of possessing one's self on all emergencies; of exerting one's talents and skill to the best advantage, even in the midst of that tumult, hurry, and danger, which is so apt to disconcert the understanding of ordinary mortals: but *acumen* imports an extraordinary intuitive faculty; the first relates to the *exertor*, the last to the *powers exerted*.

Neither can we agree with Mr. Harte, in thinking the word *debonnaireté* is one of those which cannot be translated into English. If we are not mistaken, it is precisely englished by the epithet *goodness*, as it is used in memorials and petitions to the crown, viz. *Your majesty's great goodness—Your lordship's great goodness—The king out of his wonted goodness, which is the hereditary characteristic of the royal family*. As for the *sciutto viso*, we take it to be neither more nor less than an *open countenance*; and instead of *camisado*, the author might, with more propriety, have used the word *surprize*, or *surprize in the night*; or, if he was fond of the image, he might have called it a *shirting*, and explained the meaning of it in a note. If English authors are not contented with their own language, which is so copious, nervous, and ductile, but proceed to introduce foreign words unnecessarily, our tongue will, in time, degenerate into a harsh medley of barbarisms. If we thus naturalize foreign words and foreign subjects, our blood, our manners, and our language, will be soon alike adulterated.

Among



Among the excellencies of this history, we may enumerate the maps and plans, which the author has executed with elegance and precision. We do not remember to have seen battles any where so distinctly delineated. Mr. Harte has examined all the scenes with his own eye, and carefully drawn them from nature with his own pencil. Prefixed to the body of the work we find a curious essay on the military state of Europe, in the former part of the last century ; containing the manners and customs of the age, and many entertaining particulars, relating to the history of Gustavus Adolphus. When this great prince first invaded Germany, the court of Vienna called him, in derision, *a king of snow, that would soon melt as he advanced into more southern latitudes.* He was very temperate, and often declared, *that he came not to conquer the Germans by hard drinking.* He ordered public schools to be kept in his camp for the children of his soldiers, who were so well disciplined and used to the service, that one day when a cannon-ball entered the place, and killed three boys, the rest neither changed countenance, shifted their forms, nor gave the least mark of discomposure. He knew almost every individual in his whole army ; and when at reviews he perceived any man deficient in his exercise, he frequently dismounted from his horse, took the man's firelock, and performed the exercise for his imitation. He reduced regiments from an undistinguished number to one thousand and eight men each, and allotted four surgeons to every regiment. He invented the column, or brigade ; the method of firing in platoons ; the use of leathern cannon ; the formation of dragoons into squadrons ; a kind of new partizans for the officers ; and the sea-boom for defending harbours. He substituted pouches in the room of bandileers ; demonstrated that a short cannon gives the ball a larger range ; intermingled infantry in the intervals betwixt the horse ; and drew up a line in three ranks only, which formerly consisted of thrice the number. He first practised the expedient of transporting infantry behind cavalry ; he shortened the musquets of the horse into carbines ; he rejected all other armour but head and breast-pieces for his horsemen ; he abolished the long pike and pike-rests, and reformed the match-lock. He understood the use of artillery to perfection ; and was the best engineer of his time. The pay of his colonels amounted to three hundred and eighty pounds a year each : the lieutenant-colonel received half as much ; a captain's pay did not exceed one hundred and twenty-eight pounds ; and that of a common soldier was under six-pence a day.

‘ Something remained in that age which resembled the old chivalry-taste of *imprese* and devices. The little victory of Oyta informed

informed the Imperialists that Mansfelt was a man of elegance as well as prowess; for his colours were all new, and of the richest materials; exquisitely blazoned, the emblems admirably chosen, and the mottos extremely pertinent. A regiment in those days valued itself as much upon its *lemma* as its colonel; (the motto being in truth the respective article of military belief and practice in that corps:) I once saw an illuminated collection of all the emblems and inscriptions that had been carried on standards during the thirty years wars; but it was only transiently, and without the power of making a drawing from them. What surprised me was, that those belonging to the Croats were the best imagined of any, which made me conclude at the time, that having little fancy and less learning, they purchased their designs of some man of parts, who gladly exchanged his classical learning against their plunder.

‘The romantic taste alike prevailed in the very names of their horses; for I have seen a list of some of the principal ones that belonged to Wallstein and other generals, which were surnamed, Amaranto, Bellochio, Focotesta, Inamorato, Bellpello, Stabene, Allegramente; as likewise Donna Biancha, Balarina, Donzella, Fanciulla, Vittoria, Fortuna, &c.’

‘Gustavus had some generals who were no great masters of writing or reading; and it was partly for this reason, as I have hinted elsewhere, that most commanders of consequence kept a secretary. I have heard a pleasant anecdote upon this head, which may be worth relating; not that I intend to become surety for its authenticity: one evening, at a council of war, some intercepted letters were brought to the king; his majesty (whose eye-sight was not the most perfect) ordered a venerable grey-headed general who stood by him to break them open and read them aloud. The officer shewed an inclination to obey, but lamented previously the loss of his spectacles. *Read you,* said the king hastily to another; but that great commander complained grievously of an inflammation in his eyes: *Pish,* said Gustavus, being a little provoked, *my thoughts were absent upon other matters:* and then reducing his countenance to a smile, General Banier, said he, *pray read; you have been used to it.*’

‘The military dress of those times was curious enough; for the heroes were a sort of fine gentlemen in their way. Ruffs were worn in all varieties, and frilled and tortured into every kind of shape: nevertheless, the flat sort which reclined on the shoulder, was preferred for convenience-sake upon most occasions; but then we must except the practices of the Spanish commanders

commanders and Tilly ; which latter followed the mode of Bruxelles, where he first grew acquainted with courts. Wigs were then hardly known : most wore their own hair, cultivated inartificially enough, but cut short *à la soldatesque* : Pappenheim, Piccolomini, and even Oxenstiern, affected an high bold fore-top, which had a martial air, for it seemed to stand half upright ; the rest smoothed down the front-part with a milder appearance ; and Christian duke of Brunswic, Bernard duke of Saxe-Weymar, Dewbatel, and John de Wert, spread the hair half down their foreheads, in the manner Vandyck's young men are painted. Whiskers were thought as necessary as swords ; I remember no picture unfurnished with them, excepting duke Christian's of Brunswic ; which prince was so very young that perhaps he arrived not to the happy hour of wearing the mustacho. But their distinguishing vanity made its appearance in a gold chain, which each officer of distinction wore round his neck, fastened behind with a loop and button. Some of these chains were garnished in such manner as to amount to a very great expence : yet it is thought by many that affectation was not the pure motive of wearing them, since they served to secure the owner from the fury of the enemy, in case of being taken prisoner, and proved a sort of retaining fee, engaged for the payment of a future ransom. The colour of their military scarf was arbitrary, and so were the materials ; but nothing was spared in the magnificence and richness of the embroidery. Their swords were large and heavy, not extremely embellished ; their pistols of a length enormous ; the temper of metal in both incomparably perfect. Their boots were large, thick, and wrinkled, with high tops cut slant-wise, and prepared so as to resist a common pistol-ball, except it came in a particular direction. But the oddness of their spurs is scarce to be accounted for : it is thought they were made to jingle, in order to animate the horses and keep them up to their duty without goring their flanks unmercifully. Many generals armed themselves cap-a-pie : their breast-plates, helmets, and the junctures of their armour were often inlaid with gold and silver, richly diapered with the same materials ; and some few (but this must be restrained to the Swedish service) wore only back and breast-plates, with an upper-suit of perfumed leather, prepared and stiffened so as to be a covering of resistance.

‘ His majesty himself wore nothing of the defensive nature, except an elf-skin waistcoat, which seems to me (notwithstanding the excuses alledged by him) to be matter of inclination and pure choice.’

The



The reader will find in the body of the work a great number of curious anecdotes, and a thousand interesting incidents of war, interspersed with judicious observations. As specimens of our author's stile and manner, we will insert a few quotations, relating to some of the Swede's most shining actions; and first of the siege of Frankfort on the Oder, defended by a garrison of nine thousand choice men, under the command of Schomberg.

'No troops ever made a finer approach than the Swedes did in investing the town. Gustavus marched his whole body of forces, formed upon several columns, in complete battle-array; for he feared some notable obstructions from a garrison, that might be considered as a sort of army, and bore Tilly likewise in remembrance, who lay behind him. He performed himself upon the occasion the duty of serjeant-major de la battaglia, arranging every officer and band of soldiers in their proper places; and having appointed a body of commanded musqueteers to make the forlorn hope, and placed small peletons of 50 foot soldiers between every squadron of horse, arrived without obstruction under the city-walls, leaving all the cavalry, excepting only the Rhingrave's regiment, well posted behind him at some miles distance, for fear Tilly should approach unexpectedly. In this order he paid his visit to the town the afternoon before Palm-Sunday; and having made all proper dispositions both for a siege and an assault, approached with Teüffel very near the enemy's works, in order to view the town-walls and the Gubengate. In the midst of their observations, the baron received a musquet-shot in his left arm; and to shew of how much consequence a great general thinks some individuals upon certain occasions, his majesty perfectly changed countenance, and cried, *Alas! now Teüffel is disabled, what shall I do!* Upon this the besieged made a sally; but major Sinclair, who stood just by the king at the head of a body of commanded musqueteers, soon repulsed them, taking a lieutenant-colonel and a captain prisoners, and making a lodgment afterwards in a church-yard, which lay contiguous to the enemy's out-works.

'Next morning divine service was celebrated throughout the Swedish army; but the Imperialists, who disturbed themselves very little about religion, took this omission of hostilities for the forerunner of a retreat, and in the coarse military way of drollery, hung out a wild goose on the ramparts, intimating, that the northern birds of passage ought always to think of evacuating a country. Upon which some Scottish officers remarked pleasantly

pleasantly enough, in the phraseology of their own country, *That for their own part they hoped soon to see an Imperial goose well roasted, and well sauced.*

‘ The king, who had made neither lines nor approaches, being inclined to allow the enemy small time for recollection, determined to storm the town sword in hand about two in the afternoon, supported by the thunder of twelve huge pieces of cannon, directed against the Guben-gate, several other batteries playing at the same time, in order to create a diversion. And hitherward the soldiers turned all their fury, with a view to form one general attack, though the Guben-gate was principally aimed at, whilst the yellow and blue brigades were commanded to approach on the side of the vineyards next to Custrin (a part lying by in order to repulse the enemy’s sallies :) mean while the white brigade was appointed to lodge in the fore town to support the commanded musqueteers, which lay between them and danger; and Hepburn’s brigade, (the commanded musqueteers belonging to it being conducted by major Sinclair) was destined to carry on the great intended operation; whilst the Rhingrave’s regiment of cavalry protected the train of artillery not in use, and kept the approach of Tilly constantly in their thoughts.

‘ His majesty reserved himself for the main attack at the Guben-gate, leaving the conduct of other divisions to approved commanders. He told his men, with a chearful countenance, *that he only besought their patience a few hours longer, and that then he hoped to give them wine to refresh them, and not common water out of the Oder.*

‘ The officers shewed so much alacrity on the occasion as to undertake this enterprize without their armour; but Gustavus, who had before mixed in the prelude of the assault with the common soldiers, careless of himself, but uneasy for his commanders, remonstrated to them in the kindest terms, *That he who loves the king his master’s service, will not hazard his life out of pure gaiety. If my officers are killed, who shall command my soldiers?* Giving them therefore express orders to cloath themselves in armour, the fascines and scaling-ladders being all duly prepared, he called for Hepburn and Lumsdel by name: *Now,* said he, *my valiant Scots, remember your countrymen slain at Old Brandenburg;* who both in an instant, by the help of two petards, shivered the gate to-pieces; and (as the astonished enemy forgot to let fall the port-cullis on the inside) entered the town unhurt at the head of their respective regiments. Close

at

at their heels general Banier crouded in with a fresh body of musqueteers ; and forming themselves as well as the streets could allow them, they cut to pieces one Imperial regiment with very little mercy. Upon which a detachment was dispatched to secure the bridge, but it arrived rather too late. Lumfdel's men alone took 18 colours ; and after the engagement was over, *his majesty bade him ask what he pleased, and he would give it him.*

\* Mean while major Sinclair, and one Heatly an English lieutenant, passed the walls in the quarter of the vineyards by scallado, and upon entering the town at the head of only 50 musqueteers, were attacked by an equal body of cuirassiers completely armed ; but they ranged themselves against the walls of the houses, and gave their enemies such a continued fire, that they forced them to retreat. Nor must the conduct of one Andrew Aner, a Saxon lieutenant, be here forgotten, who crossed the town-ditch, and gave chase to some Imperialists, that guarded it. The king, though naturally short-sighted, had soon eyesight enough to seize one of those fortunate moments, which, when critically snatched, are equal to days and weeks in military operations. He pointed to his troops to follow Aner. The combat was renewed on either side with incredible fury ; at length the besieged gave ground, and the assailants entered the town with them. The Imperialists beat a parley twice, but the confusion was so great no one could hear it. His majesty gave Aner a handsome gratuity of about 150*l.* and as he was a man of such alacrity and expedition, told him, *he should remove him from the infantry, and try what exploits he could perform in the capacity of captain of horse.*

\* At length the yellow and blue brigades entered, two bodies of troops highly esteemed in the Swedish army. It was their fortune to attack the quarter, where lieutenant-colonel Walter Butler lay with his Irish regiment, who gave the Imperialists an example of resolution, which might have saved the town, if it had been copied even imperfectly ; for he stood his ground at push of pyke till he had scarce a soldier left with him ; nor did he submit till he was shot through the arm with a musquet-ball, and pierced with an halbert through the thigh. All things being thus secured, his majesty, who made the tour of the several attacks on the outside of the walls, entered the town at the head of the Rhingrave's regiment of horse. Tieffenbach, Schomberg, and Montecuculi, escaped over the bridge (which was fortified with a strong redoubt on the opposite shore) and conducted their flying troops to Great Glogaw in Silesia, which was distant from Francfort at least sixty miles ; 1700 Imperial  
soldiers



foldiers were left dead in the town, almost as many more were never heard of ; 50 colours were lost ; the colonels Herbenstein, Walstein, Jour, and Heydon, were killed ; and about sixty officers and seven lieutenant-colonels taken prisoners. Amongst the latter were found likewise general major Spar, a native Swede, and the colonels Morval (some say Waldo) and Butler, [the same who afterwards assassinated Walstein] and about 700 common foldiers. His majesty took infinite pains to prevent pillage, and exercised his baton amongst his followers without remorse ; yet they plundered to the amount of 30,000*l.* in spite of all his endeavours ; for many valuable goods were lodged in the town on account of the approaching fair ; yet no woman's honour was violated, and only one burgher killed, merely thro' his own imprudence and obstinacy.'

As a counter-part of, or rather in contrast to this assault, which was conducted with equal valour and moderation, we shall present the reader with the fate of Magdeburg, which, soon after the former event, was stormed and sacked by the Imperialists, under Tilly and Pappenheim : this will likewise serve as a sample of Austrian humanity.

' Mean while Pappenheim perceiving the courage of the besieged to slacken, and making a second attempt with greater success than he could have flattered himself, entered the streets about seven in the morning. It was then that Falkenberg greatly wanted his cavalry, which might have overborn the enemies before their own horse were admitted ; but he found to his great mortification in his dying moments, that some perfidious citizens had barricaded the streets with chains. All we know further with respect to him is, that his body perished in the flames.

' During this rencounter, one captain Smith greatly signa-  
lized himself : he repulsed the Imperialists a second time, but an unfortunate shot soon put an end to his generous efforts ; and when the alarum-bell began to sound, the citizens lost all courage, and each man provided for his own private safety by retiring to his own house, or attempting to abscond and shelter his person elsewhere. The duke of Holstein, by Pappenheim's assistance, then entered the Hamburg-gate, after having made several unsuccessful attempts before, and pointed the cannon of the ramparts against the streets. At length Mansfelt got into the town, and in the interim the cavalry broke in like a torrent through the Hamburg-gate. This hindered the remaining part of the garrison from uniting, and making one general defence in the public square.

' The

‘ The administrator, at the beginning of the first attack, had his thigh ruffled with a cannon-ball, and received afterwards several musquet-shots, one particularly in the left leg : he was at length taken prisoner, under promise of kind and humane usage suitable to his quality ; yet soon after some fresh soldiers fell upon him, who not only killed his domestics that attended him, but gave him two wounds in cold blood, one with a pistol on the leg, and one with a battle-ax on the head. They then stripped him almost naked, and had dispatched him without remorse, if Pappenheim had not flown to his assistance, and ordered him to be carried on two pikes to his tent, fainting, and half-naked. Next morning Pappenheim conveyed him in a coach to Wolmerstadt, and ordered his own chaplain and gentleman of the bed-chamber to attend him. The dukes of Holstein and Saxony had the unpoliteness to reproach him in very gross terms ; but he defended the justice of his cause with manly answers, and acquitted himself conformably to the spirit of a prince and man of honour.

‘ Some time afterwards Pappenheim asked him, how he could be so ill-advised as to expose his life, and all that he possessed, for the sake of persons, who sold him every day, and informed the besiegers of the order of the guard, the numbers destined to the support of each station, the weakness of the fortifications, and the several inconveniencies they laboured under ? That conformably to these reports he had laid the plan of the last attack, and thereby judged precisely when and where to make it.

‘ When the administrator was brought before Tilly, he told him and his generals boldly, *That the Supreme Being would take vengeance upon them : that blood could only be expiated with blood : that acts of massacre were fatal to armies ; and that sooner or later the catholic forces would suffer justly an equal degree of chastisement with what they had inflicted : that the Imperial cause was verging towards its decline, and the glory of Tilly lay interred in the ruins of Magdeburg.*

‘ And now began a massacre not to be paralleled in modern ages. I know nothing approaches to it but the storming of Drogheda by Cromwell, who seems to have copied Tilly in the very meanest part of his character. The soldiers fired promiscuously in the streets, churches, and squares, upon persons of all ages, sex, and conditions, with the same fury as in the day of battle. The very best troops, the old Walloons, behaved the least like men, and, as there may be a justice sometimes in cruelty, spared not their own friends within the town, namely, the  
in-

informers, in the general massacre. The Croats exercised barbarities unknown to savages. The young men and the new-raised soldiers were the only people, that shewed any visible signs of compassion. When the streets and public places were filled with dead bodies, (and this scene may be considered as the very mildest part of their cruelty) the troops disbanded themselves, and began to enter the houses. Here began a more deliberate perpetration of murder: even the aged, the sick, and the young, found no mercy. Two soldiers held an infant by the legs with the head downwards, and chined it with their swords. Eight Croats violated a poor girl, and then trans-fixed her to the ground with an halbert. A young lady of quality was seized by an officer; but as he dragged her over the Elb-bridge, she begged leave to have the use of her hands to take out her handkerchief and wipe her eyes, and that instant plunged herself into the river, and there expired. Another young woman of fashion, remarkable for her beauty, knowing that in such a case her charms were the least part of her protection, deliberately plunged herself into a well: and twenty young girls, who were assembled together at a house near the banks of the Elb, rushed out of the doors all at once, and embracing each other, threw themselves into the river.

‘ By this time the whole city was in flames. Most historians attribute this to accident; but as the fire began in various places at once, many may be inclined to consider it as a part of the besieger’s cruelty. Thus the few perished who had concealed themselves, and by the justice of Providence, the Imperialists lost the greater part, not only of what they had plundered, but of what the inhabitants had hidden.

‘ Nothing remained of the town but the cathedral, the church and convent of Notre Dame, some few houses, that stood round it, and about eighty or an hundred fishermen’s cottages on the banks of the Elb. Out of 40,000 inhabitants, it is thought, hardly the number of 800 escaped. Some retired to the cathedral, some obtained quarter in hopes of ransom, some escaped over the walls, some were dug out of the ruins, and some few were preserved by the seeming interposition of Providence. An handful of the garrison, which held out to the very last man, obtained conditions; but all the officers were put to the sword, excepting Amsteroth, who was taken prisoner, and died the next day, and a lieutenant-colonel and major, whose lives were spared.’

The first volume concludes with the siege of Marienberg in the year 1631, an exploit equally remarkable for the valour of the  
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besiegers, and the wealth of the place, which fell into the hands of the victorious Swede. It cannot be expected that we should give a particular detail of all the transactions recorded in this history, which is replete with entertainment; we shall therefore finish our quotations with the account of Gustavus's death at the battle of Lutzen.

And here it may be proper to say something more diffusely concerning the death of Gustavus, who fought sword in hand at the head of the Smoland cavalry, which closed the right-flank of the centre, and, perhaps, in his ardour out-stripped the brigades, which composed the main body, and whose business it was to advance upon the same line with himself. As his majesty's eye sight was not the most perfect, and forasmuch as a mist began gently to obscure the sky, it is most probable to imagine, that, attended only by his own followers and servants, and the squadron commanded by him, he had a violent desire to contemplate the centre of the imperial army, towards which his own invincible brigades were now advancing, and on whose bravery and firmness he principally grounded the future success of the day's service. It is natural, I say, to conclude, that the king lost his life in some digression like this, being prompted on by an high spirit of impatience and curiosity; for most accounts agree, that he fell by the hands of Piccolomini's cuirassiers, whom some arrange in the first line of the Imperial left wing opposite the letter C, and others place it in the very central point behind letter B: but the confusion and difficulties under each of those articles are so perplexing and entangling, that I have sometimes been induced to think, that Piccolomini was a colonel both of infantry and cavalry, and that two regiments of course derived their names from him; — (that sort of honour and encouragement being not unfrequent in the Swedish service; —) where duke Bernard had a couple of regiments, a substitute-colonel being appointed; and so had Teüffel, Kniphausen, Falkenberg, and others.

Here therefore, that is, in the front of the troops first described, or (which is more probable) in the interval between them and the adjoining mass of infantry, Gustavus received a ball in his left-arm, which at first he either felt not, or disregarded, still keeping foremost, and cutting and flashing with great intrepidity; yet the soldiers perceived their leader to be wounded, long before he spoke to that effect, and expressed their affliction and consternation: *Courage, my comrades,* replied he, *the affair is nothing: let us resume our point, and return to the charge.* One of the equerries cried out likewise, that his majesty

jeſty was wounded, for which the king reproved him harſhly. At length perceiving his voice and ſtrength to fail him, and fearing to diſmay his brave associates, he whiſpered the duke of Sax-Lauenberg to this purport: *Couſin, I perceive myſelf to be grievouſly wounded: convey me hence to ſome place of ſafety.* In that inſtant, as the king's followers were preparing to retreat, an Imperial cavalier advanced unobſerved in this momentary confuſion of turning, and having cried out, *Long have I ſought thee,* tranſpierced his majeſty with a piſtol-ball through the body: but he lived not to glory in this inhumanity; for the maſter of the horſe to the duke of Sax-Lauenberg ſhot him dead with the words recent on his lips. Upon this Piccolomini's cuiraffiers gave the king's companions a moſt deſperate attack. His majeſty was for ſome moments held upon his ſaddle; but the horſe being at that very inſtant ſhot in the ſhoulder, made a deſperate plunge, and flung the rider to the earth. His few perſonal attendants ſtayed with him; but the troops, that accompanied him, were ſoon diſperſed. One of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, who lay likewise on the ground, cried out aloud, in order to ſave his maſter's life, that he was the king of Sweden. Upon which an Imperial cuiraffier, who had alighted to ſtrip the the bodies, ran him through with his ſword: Gustavus afterwards being asked, who he was, replied boldly, *I am the king of Sweden, and ſeal with my blood the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of Germany:* adding likewise, *Alas my poor queen! Alas my poor queen!* The Imperialiſts gave him five dreadful inhuman wounds; and though one ſhot him through the head, he had ſtrength to pronounce, *My God, my God!* His body was ſtripped in an inſtant, (the ſhirt excepted) for every enemy was deſirous to poſſeſs ſome ſpoil, that belonged to him. His buff-waiſtcoat was conſigned to the arſenal at Vienna, but fell firſt into Piccolomini's hands. A common ſoldier ſeized that magical ſword, concerning which the German profeſſors have publiſhed more diſſertations than one; and Holk obtained by purchaſe the poſſeſſion of his ring and ſpurs. One Schneberg, a lieutenant in Goëtſz's cavalry, ſeized his gold chain, which is ſtill preſerved in the Schneberg family; namely, at the time the *Monumenta Paderbornenſia* were made public.

‘ Having mentioned this work, we muſt beg leave to remark tranſiently, that it was compoſed by Ferdinand de Furſtenberg biſhop of Paderborn: and as the preſent part is purely digreſſional, it may be wondered, why this perſon was ſo extremely anxious to make ſuch minute enquiries concerning the authors of the king's death? But his own words under this article ſhall ſolve the difficulty; for the good prelate had a mind, that the

natives of his diocese should claim the honour of destroying antichrist:

‘ *Placuit hoc recens Paderbonensium militum facinus, dum vetera monumenta percersemus, hic subnectere*——NE QUI ALII, UT POST VICTORIAM IGNAVI ETIAM GLORIENTUR, HANC SIBI LAUDEM PRAECERPANT. Nevertheless it may be worth while to remark here, that though Schneberg took the chain; yet from the period in question to the present moment, we know nothing concerning a famous Turquoise, enchased therein, and hanging at the bottom thereof, of size and beauty extraordinary, and belonging from time immemorial to the crown of Sweden. *Cyaneus* (saith a most veracious and candid historian) *quam aurea catenula appensam collo gestabat, singularis magnitudinis gemma, atque antiquum Sueciae regum munus, nusquam inventa est, quamvis rex omnino spoliatus in campo deinceps repertus sit.* Now that this remarkable stone should never make its appearance since in Europe, is a difficulty hard to be accounted for, since Schneberg might have shewn the Turquoise in the same manner he produced the chain.

‘ Mean while, one Innocentio Bucela, *camerado* (as the language then ran) to colonel Piccolomini, informed his friend, that the king of Sweden, whom he well knew, lay naked and dead hard by them. Piccolomini flew immediately to the place mentioned, accompanied only by ten cavaliers, and found Gustavus in his last convulsive agonies. He proposed that moment to have carried off the deceased, but Stalhaus charged with such fury, that the Imperialists were obliged to relinquish their prize; and, what may be worth remarking, the king’s two faithful grooms, though mortally wounded, had thrown themselves over their master’s body.’

Thus have we endeavoured to give some idea of a performance, which, with all its imperfections, we recommend as a work of merit, and a valuable acquisition to the province of history.

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ART. VII. *Historical Law Tracts.* 2 Vols. Octavo. Price 9 s. Millar.

TO restrain such crimes as are injurious either to individuals or to society; to secure men the enjoyment of those possessions which they reckon conducive to their happiness; to ascertain the manner in which the property of any valuable object shall be acquired or transferred; and to accommodate all these regulations to the particular genius of each political constitution, seem to be the great ends of legislation. Many of  
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our ideas with regard to those matters which are the objects of laws, are simple and uniform; because they flow immediately from principles which are natural to the human mind. Others are extremely complicated and variable; because they take their rise from a particular form of government, or are excited by some sudden and transient event.

There is not a greater difference between two beings of a contrary species, than there is between a man considered as a member of a *Grecian common-wealth*, of a *feudal kingdom*, or of a *despotic monarchy*. In the *first*, every man is deemed equal to another, possesses the same rights, and may aspire to the same dignities. In the *second*, the people seem to be formed for the sake of the nobility, and the many serve only to promote the power and grandeur of the few. In the *third*, every thing centers in the prince, and great and small are equally his slaves. Laws made for men in such opposite situations must differ as much as if they were not framed for the same beings.

Besides this, men, in their progress from their first savage state, have passed through many and successive stages of refinement. They united, perhaps, very easily, as *hunters*, and subsisted like the Indians in America upon the game which they caught. The *pastoral state*, of which we have still an example among the Tartars, was probably next to that; and may be considered as a great step beyond the former, towards the perfection of society. Then followed the *state of agriculture*, such as subsisted among the first Romans. Lastly, *commerce* was introduced and extended; great cities were erected; the arts and sciences, with all their train of elegance, luxury, and refinement, made their appearance. How different from each other must be the wants, the desires, and the passions of men accustomed to such various forms of society? How few and simple the regulations of law in the *first* state? How numerous and complicated in the *last*? How powerfully must the genius of every particular form influence the spirit of the laws which are peculiar to it? How different, for instance, the regulations with regard to property, which take place among a society which subsist by hunting, from those which would be proper in a society of shepherds, of husbandmen, or of merchants? Nor is the spirit of laws influenced only by such great variations in the form of government. It is possible to trace the effects of slighter and more imperceptible changes in a constitution, though it requires greater attention and acuteness to discern them.

From all this it is natural to conclude that no man, but a sound philosopher, or a well informed historian, should undertake to explain the laws of any country. But, unhappily, the writers on this subject have not always a just claim to such praise. Law has become, among all the European nations, a lucrative profession; and is a very laborious study. It is easier, however, to remember facts, than to investigate or explain the causes by which they were occasioned. Statutes are, accordingly, appealed to: reports containing the decrees of judges in cases supposed similar, are quoted; but because philosophy and history, the two keys of law, have sometimes been applied improperly, lawyers seldom employ these at all. Practical lawyers often attend no more to the reasons on which laws are founded, than a practical sailor does to those theorems in navigation which direct him how to steer his vessel.

Our author seems to be fully sensible of the imperfect manner in which the science of law is often treated. 'Law, says he, like geography, is taught as if it were a collection of facts merely; the memory is employed to the full, rarely the judgment. This method, if it were not rendered familiar by custom, would appear strange and unaccountable. With respect to the political constitution of Britain, how imperfect must the knowledge be of that man who confines his reading to the present times? If he follow the same method in studying its laws, have we reason to hope that his knowledge of them will be more perfect?'

But our author not only points out the defects which are often visible in treatises of law, he sets an example of writing on that subject in a more rational and instructive manner. He possesses, in an high degree, all the talents requisite for doing so: his knowledge of human nature is just and profound: his acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with the progress of society, is accurate and extensive. Those principles in our constitution on which laws are founded; those passions which render them necessary, are appealed to and explained with great ingenuity. The gradual advances of mankind towards perfection and refinement in government are traced with great care; and the ideas naturally arising from those circumstances, which, in different ages, dictated laws, and regulated the opinions of judges, are observed with minute attention; and by such investigation, customs and institutions, which formerly appeared to be inexplicable, accidental, or capricious, are seen to be the natural effects of powerful causes. But though researches of this kind be, necessarily, intricate and profound,

profound, our author writes with remarkable perspicuity, and in a vigorous and manly stile. A subject seemingly dry and abstruse becomes, in his hands, not only instructive but amusing.

After this encomium on our author, the justice of which the public we are confident will acknowledge, we shall attempt to give our readers some idea of his work. It contains fourteen tracts, viz. *History of the Criminal Law.* — *History of Promises and Covenants.* — *History of Property.* — *History of Securities upon Land for payment of debt.* — *History of the privilege which an Heir-apparent in a feudal holding has, to continue the possession of his Ancestor.* — *History of Regalities, and of the privilege of repledging.* — *History of Courts.* — *History of Brieves.* — *History of Process in Absence.* — *History of Execution against Moveables and Land for payment of debt.* — *History of Personal Execution for payment of debt.* — *History of Execution for obtaining payment after the death of the debtor.* — *History of the limited and universal Representation of Heirs.* — *Old and New Extent.*

It would be equally absurd and impossible for us to endeavour to abridge a book which treats of so many various and interesting subjects; we shall discharge our duty to our readers more effectually, by giving them a distinct summary of one of these tracts, from which they may judge of the ingenuity and acuteness which distinguish this work. We only beg leave to observe, that the subjects of these tracts are equally interesting to the inhabitants of both parts of the united kingdoms. 'These discourses, as our author himself observes, relate, each of them, to subjects common to the law of England and of Scotland; and, in tracing the history of both, tend to introduce both into the reader's acquaintance.'

The tract, which we shall examine, is the first in order, viz. *the History of Criminal Law.* As all punishments, and laws respecting them, arise from *resentment of injury*, the author begins, very properly, with discussing the nature of this passion. He observes, that all actions hurtful to others are accompanied with a feeling of *impropriety and wrong*. The delinquent cannot avoid being sensible that he is guilty: conscience fills him with remorse, and with dread of merited punishment. Corresponding to this sentiment in the guilty person, is, first, the indignation we all have at gross crimes, even when we suffer not by them; and next, resentment in the person injured, even for the slightest crime; by which sufficient provision is made for inflicting the punishment that is dreaded. No passion is more keen than resentment; the more so, that within due bounds it is au-



thorized by conscience. The party injured has the feeling that he lawfully *may* punish; the party offending, that he *ought* to be punished, for the injury committed. Resentment rises in different degrees; chiefly for wrong done to ourselves, and next, to those with whom we are most nearly connected. The passion, like all others, seeks its full gratification: for obtaining which, two circumstances are principally requisite; first, that the delinquent be punished in a manner corresponding to his crime; and next, that his punishment be either inflicted, or at least directed by the person injured.

Having traced the foundation of resentment in human nature, the author proceeds to consider some of the coregularities attending this passion. Sudden pain is sometimes sufficient to raise resentment, even when no injury is intended. Treading on a gouty toe, or breaking a favourite vase, may, upon a warm temper, produce this effect: yet such indulgence was given by the Athenians to this irrational emotion, that if a man was killed by the fall of a stone, or other accident, the instrument of death was destroyed \*. Another and more fatal coregularity of this passion is, when exerted against the relations of the criminal. Savage as this seems, we find, however, the traces of it in the laws of many civilized nations. By an Athenian law, a man committing sacrilege was banished with all his children. And even in the Roman code, the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, by a noted statute †, in the case of treason, extend the punishment to the children of the traitor, with the utmost rigour and severity. On this the author observes, that a tendency to excess is a common quality of all our passions: and that as joy, love, gratitude, and all the social passions, naturally expand themselves on every person and thing that is connected with the principal object of the passion, it ought not to be surprising that resentment and other dissocial passions are not more regular.

As by the law of nature, the person injured acquires a right over the delinquent, to punish him in proportion to the injury; and the delinquent, sensible of this right, knows he ought to submit to it: hence punishment has been considered as a sort of *debt*, which the criminal is bound to pay. This way of speaking may safely be indulged as an analogical illustration, provided no consequences be drawn from it, which the analogy will not justify. But consequences have been drawn from it

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\* Meursius de leg. Atticis, L. 1. cap. 17.

† L. 5. § 1. C. ad leg. Jul. Majest.

very improperly: and upon this has been founded, as the author shews, the notion of a substitute in punishment, the practice of human sacrifices, and the gross doctrines which prevailed in dark ages of the world, of making a composition with the Deity for punishments merited by our sins.

Having made the proper observations on these irregularities which attend the exercise of resentment, the author goes on to trace the manner in which it directed the infliction of punishments, through the different stages of social life. 'Society, says he, originally, did not make so strict an union among individuals as at present. Mutual defence against a more powerful neighbour, being, in early times, the chief or sole motive for joining in society, individuals never thought of surrendering to the publick any of their natural rights that could be retained consistently with their great aim of mutual defence. In particular, the privileges of maintaining their own property, and of avenging their own wrongs, were reserved to individuals full and entire. In the dawn of society, accordingly, we find no traces of a judge, properly so called, who hath power to interpose in differences, and to force persons at variance to submit to his opinion. If a dispute about property, or about any civil right, could not be adjusted by the parties themselves, there was no other method, but to appeal to some indifferent person, whose opinion should be the rule. This method of determining civil differences was imperfect; for what if the parties did not agree upon an arbiter? Or what if one of them proved refractory, after the chosen arbiter had given his opinion? To remedy these inconveniences, it was found expedient to establish judges, who, at first, differed in one circumstance only from arbiters, that they could not be declined. They had no magisterial authority, not even that of compelling parties to appear before them. This is evident from the Roman Law, which subsisted many centuries before the notion obtained of a power in a judge to force a party into court. To bring a disputable matter to an issue, no other means occurred, but the making it lawful for the complainer to drag his party before the judge, *oborto collo*, as expressed by the writers on that law: and the same regulation appears in the laws of the Visigoths. But jurisdiction, at first merely voluntary, came gradually to be improved to its present state of being compulsory, involving so much of the magisterial authority as is necessary for explicating jurisdiction, *viz.* Power of calling a party into court, and power of making a sentence effectual. And in this manner civil jurisdiction, in progress of time, was brought to perfection.

' Criminal

‘Criminal jurisdiction is in all countries of a much later date. Revenge, the darling privilege of human nature, is never tamely given up; for the reason chiefly, that it is not gratified unless the punishment be inflicted by the person injured. The privilege of resenting injuries was therefore that private right which was the latest of being surrendered, or rather wrested from individuals in society. This revolution was of great importance with respect to government, which can never fully attain its end, where punishment in any measure is trusted in private hands. A revolution so contradictory to the strongest propensity of human nature, could not by any power, or by any artifice, be instantaneous. It behoved to be gradual, and, in fact, the progressive steps tending to its completion, were slow, and, taken singly, almost imperceptible; as will appear from the following history. And to be convinced of the difficulty of wresting this privilege from individuals, we need but reflect upon the practice of duelling, so customary in times past; and which the strictest attention in the magistrate, joined with the severest punishment, have not altogether been able to repress.’

‘No production of art or nature is more imperfect than is government in its infancy, comprehending no sort of jurisdiction either civil or criminal. What can more tend to break the peace of society, and to promote universal discord, than that every man should be the sole judge in his own cause, and inflict punishment according to his own judgment? But instead of wondering at the original weakness of government, our wonder would be better directed upon its present state of perfection, and upon the means by which it hath arrived to the utmost degree of authority, in contradiction to the strongest and most active principles of human nature. This subject makes a great figure in the history of mankind, and that it partly comes under the present undertaking, I esteem a lucky circumstance.’

The first restraint which government imposed on private revenge was, in all probability, the appointing a judge to determine who was the author of the crime, in cases where any doubt arose. If a crime was manifest, the party injured might avenge himself without ceremony. Therefore it was lawful for a man to kill his wife, and the adulterer, if found together. But as the hasty judgments formed by resentment would often oppress the innocent, in place of the guilty, the necessity would soon be apparent of a judge interposing in order to detect the guilty. This was at first a novelty; but it was such as could not readily alarm individuals, being calculated not to restrain the privilege  
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of revenge, but only to direct revenge to its proper object. One early instance of this we have among the Jews, where cities of refuge were appointed as an interim sanctuary to the man-slayer, till the elders of the city had an opportunity to judge whether the deed was voluntary or casual. If the man, taking benefit of the sanctuary, was found guilty, he was delivered to the avenger of blood, that he might die.

The next step, in the order of society, was to determine the nature of the punishment. Application to a judge had already removed all ambiguity about the criminal; but it had not yet removed an evil repugnant to humanity and justice, that of putting the offender under the power of the party injured, to be punished at his pleasure. With relation to this, the author takes notice of a wise regulation in Abyssinia, and also in the Athenian government; by which the judge determined what punishment the crime deserved, and then delivered over the criminal to the accuser, who, by inflicting upon him that punishment, had an opportunity of gratifying his resentment to the full.

But particular regulations concerning punishment were, in a great measure, superseded by pecuniary compositions for crimes: a custom, which during the imperfect state of government made a great figure in Europe for many ages; and which, therefore, is examined by our author with great care and exactness. Traces of this custom he finds among the ancient Greeks and Romans. Tacitus is express on its prevailing among the Germans; and that it was established among our Saxon ancestors under the name of *Vergelt*, is known to all the world. The laws of the Burgundians, of the Salians, the Alamanni, the Repuarii, the Visigoths, Longobards, are full of these compositions, extending from the most trifling injuries to the most atrocious crimes, not excepting high treason. From the tables of these compositions chiefly is derived our knowledge of the different ranks and titles of honour among these barbarous nations; with such nicety did they adjust the sums to the degrees of delinquency, according to the dignity of the person injured. Avarice, it is true, is not so fierce a passion as resentment; but it is more stable, and by its perseverance often prevails over the keener passions. The notion of punishments being a kind of debt did certainly facilitate the introduction of this custom; and there was opportunity for its becoming universal, during the period that the right of punishment was in private hands. At first, it is probable, the practice rested altogether upon private consent. The person injured might, at his

his pleasure, either punish, or remit the punishment upon a pecuniary consideration. But the practice of composition being found the likeliest means to restrain the impetuosity of revenge, it was greatly encouraged among all nations, till, becoming frequent and customary, it was established into a law; and what at first was voluntary was in process of time made necessary. But the change was slow and gradual: the first step, probably, was to interpose in behalf of the delinquent, if he offered a reasonable satisfaction in cattle or money; and to afford him protection, if the satisfaction was refused by the person injured. The next step was to make it unlawful to prosecute resentment, without first demanding satisfaction from the delinquent. And the system was completed by the third step, which compelled the delinquent to pay, and the person injured to accept, a proper satisfaction. Of these successive steps, the author points out the traces in the laws of the barbarous nations. However strange this practice of compounding for crimes may appear to us, the author observes, very justly, that it was certainly a happy invention. By the temptation of money, men were gradually accustomed to stifle their resentments. This was a fine preparation for transferring the power of punishment wholly to the magistrate, which would have been impracticable without some such intermediate step; for whilst individuals retain their privilege of avenging injuries, the passion of resentment, fortified by universal practice, is too violent to be subdued by the force of any government.

This leads, therefore, to the last and most shining period of the criminal law; when the right of punishment, in its proper sense, was vested wholly in the magistrate: a revolution, of all others, the most important in government. In the infancy of society, the idea of a publick is so faint and obscure, that publick crimes, where no individual is hurt, pass unregarded. But when government, in its natural growth, hath advanced to some degree of maturity, the public interest is then recognized, and the nature of a crime against the public understood. This introduced a new regulation, that in compounding for gross crimes, a fine or *fredum* should be paid to the Fisk. To publick crimes, in the strictest sense, where no individual is hurt, was at first this new assumed privilege undoubtedly confined. But it being once established, that there is a publick, that this publick is a politick body, which like a real person is entitled to recent injuries, it was an easy step to interest the publick, even in private crimes, by conceiving every atrocious crime to be a publick, as well as a private injury; and in particular, that by every act of violence, the peace of the country is broken.

broken. In the oldest compositions for crimes that are recorded among the Salic laws, and those of the Allemanni, the whole is given to the private party: but in the tables of compositions among the Burgundians and Longobards, supposed to be more recent, there is constantly superadded a fine or *fredum* to the king.

The times being so far enlightened, the practice of converting punishment into money, a wise institution indeed originally, to prevent a greater evil, appeared now too absurd to be longer supported. Compositions established in days of poverty bore no proportion to crimes, after nations became rich and powerful. The interposition of the magistrate in all cases of crimes was now so thoroughly established, that nothing was to be dreaded from the violence of private resentment; and therefore punishments might be safely resumed. Nor would there be any difficulty in persuading a man of spirit that it is more for his honour to see his enemy condignly punished, than to put up with a trifling compensation in money. Thus compositions for crimes were prohibited, or wore out of practice; and the people gradually received the salutary doctrine, that it is inconsistent with good government to suffer individuals to exert their resentment otherwise, than by applying to the criminal judge.

This signal revolution in the criminal law however was necessarily galling to individuals, unaccustomed to restrain their resentment. And hence, as the author observes very ingeniously in a note, there arose in Europe, for some time after this revolution was completed, that is, about two or three centuries ago, a succession of crimes. Individuals, impatient of having the right of punishment wrested from them, were incessantly breaking out into open violence and murder. As the authority of law, gathering strength daily, became too mighty for revenge so boldly executed, private assassination succeeded in its place. Assassination repressed made way for poisoning, the most dangerous pest that ever invaded human society. But this receives some check from nature itself: for the gratification of revenge which poisoning affords, must be extremely slight; when the offender does not know or feel from what hand his punishment comes. Duelling may be considered as coming in the last place, the still remaining effect of propensity to private revenge.

When the power of punishing began to be placed wholly in the hand of the public, all measures were taken to make the yoke easy, by directing such a punishment as tended most to the  
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gratification of the party injured. Gradually the object of attention varied, and the interest of the publick came to be more considered in decreeing the punishment, than the prosecutor's claim. The author illustrates this, by the different methods used in the punishment of theft in different ages. With regard to the adjusting of punishments to crimes, he observes, that after criminal jurisdiction was engrossed by the publick, we find the first punishments extremely moderate; for great severities are beyond the strength of a legislature, till its authority be sufficiently established. The next stage of punishment is severe; for publick authority being once rooted, the yet undisciplined and savage manners of a people require severities. But at last when a people have become polished and submissive, punishments being less and less necessary, are generally mild, and ought always to be so.

The criminal law, our author takes notice, was brought to great perfection among the ancient Egyptians. To shew this, he quotes several wise institutions of that people from Diodorus Siculus. Capital punishments were avoided as much as possible; and in their place punishments chosen, which, equally with death, restrain the delinquent from committing the like crime a second time. In a word, the ancient Egyptian punishments had the following peculiar character, that they effectually answer their end with less harshness and severity than is found in the laws of any other nation, ancient or modern. On this, our author has a note, which, as it is very ingenious, we shall insert in his own words.

‘ We have an instance in this law of still greater refinement. The criminal law of other civilized nations has not, in any instance a farther aim than to prevent injury and mischief. Egypt is the only country we read of, where individuals were laid under an obligation to aid the distressed, under a penal sanction. In the table of laws recorded by the above mentioned author, we read the following passage. “ If a man be violently assaulted, and in hazard of death, it is the duty of every by-stander to attempt a rescue; and if it be proved against such a man, that he was sufficiently able to prevent the murder, his neglect or forbearance is to be punished with death.” It is altogether concordant with the refined spirit of the other laws mentioned by our author, that relieving the distressed should be made the duty of every individual: but to punish with death an act of omission, or a neglect of any duty, far more the neglect of a duty so refined, must arise from the most exalted notions of morality. Government must have arrived at great perfection, before such  
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a regulation could be admitted. None of the present European nations are even at present so far refined as to admit of such a law. There must be some cause, natural or artificial, for such early perfection of the criminal law in Egypt; and as the subject is of importance, in tracing the history of mankind, I cannot resist the present opportunity of attempting to investigate this cause.

‘ Hunting and fishing, in order for sustenance, were the original occupations of man. The shepherd life succeeded; and the next stage was that of agriculture. These progressive changes, in the order now mentioned, may be traced in all nations, so far as we have any remains of their original history. The life of a fisher or hunter is averse to society, except among the members of single families. The shepherd life promotes larger societies, if that can be called a society, which hath scarce any other than a local connection. But the true spirit of society, which consists in mutual benefits, and in making the industry of individuals profitable to others as well as to themselves, was not known till agriculture was invented. Agriculture requires the aid of many other arts. The carpenter, the blacksmith, the mason, and other artificers, contribute to it. This circumstance connects individuals in an intimate society of mutual support, which again compacts them within a narrow space. Now, in the first state of man, *viz.* that of hunting and fishing, there obviously is no place for government, except that which is exercised by the heads of families over children and domesticks. The shepherd life, in which societies are formed, by the conjunction of families for mutual defence, requires some sort of government; slight indeed in proportion to the slightness of the mutual connection. But it was agriculture which first produced a regular system of government. The intimate union among a multitude of individuals, occasioned by agriculture, discovered a number of social duties, formerly unknown. These behoved to be ascertained by laws, the observance of which must be enforced by punishment. Such operations cannot be carried on, otherwise than by lodging power in one or more persons, to direct the resolutions, and apply the force of the whole society. In short, it may be laid down as an universal maxim, that in every society, the advances of government towards perfection, are strictly proportioned to the advances of the society towards intimacy of union.’

‘ When we apply these reflections to the present subject, we find that the condition of the land of Egypt makes husbandry of absolute necessity; because in that country, without husbandry,

bandry, there are no means of subsistence. All the soil, except what is yearly covered with the river when it overflows, being a barren sand unfit for habitation, the people are confined to the low grounds adjacent to the river. The sandy grounds produce little or no grass; and however fit for pasture the low grounds may be during the bulk of the year, the inhabitants, without agriculture, would be destitute of all means to preserve their cattle alive during the inundation. The Egyptians must therefore, from the beginning, have depended upon husbandry for their subsistence; and the soil, by the yearly inundations, being rendered extremely fertile, the great plenty of provisions produced by the slightest culture, could not fail to multiply the people exceedingly. But this people lived in a still more compact state, than is necessary for the prosecution of husbandry in other countries; because their cultivated lands were narrow in proportion to their fertility. Individuals, thus collected within very narrow bounds, could not subsist a moment without a regular government. The necessity after every inundation, of adjusting marches by geometry, naturally productive of disputes, must alone have early taught the inhabitants of this wonderful country, the necessity of due submission to legal authority. Joining all these circumstances, we may assuredly conclude, that, in Egypt, government was coeval with the peopling of the country; and this, perhaps, is the single instance of the kind. Government, therefore, must have long subsisted among the Egyptians in an advanced state; and for that reason it ceases to be a wonder, that their laws were brought to perfection more early than those of any other people.

‘ This, at the same time, accounts for the practice of Hieroglyphics, peculiar to this country. In the administration of publick affairs, writing is, in a great measure, necessary. The Egyptian government had made vigorous advances toward perfection before writing was invented. A condition so singular, behoved to make a strong demand for some method to publish laws, and to preserve them in memory. This produced hieroglyphical writing, if the emblems made use of to express ideas, can be called so.

‘ *N. B.* Publick police appears, in ancient Egypt, to have been carried to an eminent degree of perfection in other articles, as well as in that of law. We have the authority of Aristotle, and of Herodote, for saying, That in Egypt the art of physick was distributed into several distinct parts; that every physician employed himself wholly in the cure of a single disease, and that by this means the art was brought to great perfection.’

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The last remarks which our author makes in this history of the criminal law, concern the persons with whom is lodged the power of prosecuting public crimes. By the Roman law, no proper provision was made here; no *calumniator publicus*, no advocate nor attorney-general was appointed; but every one allowed to prosecute crimes which had a public bad tendency. This was a faulty institution, and occasioned such prosecutions to become frequently the occasions of venting private ill-will. The oath of calumny was too feeble a check; and the penalty afterwards imposed, of the accuser's being subject to a *lex talionis*, if he failed in the proof, proved a bar to such prosecutions altogether. The method of modern times is preferable, of giving the chief magistrate the privilege of prosecuting for the public. In Scotland, the king's advocate is by his office *calumniator publicus*: and in England, where personal liberty has from the beginning been more sacred than in Scotland, no criminal trial, in name of the crown, can proceed, till first the matter be examined by the grand jury of the country, and their authority be interposed for the prosecution.

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ART. VIII. *A System of Oratory, delivered in a course of lectures, publicly read at Gresham College, London. To which is prefixed an inaugural oration, spoken in Latin before the commencement of the lectures, according to the usual custom. In Two Volumes. Ward. Price 10 s.*

**I**F diction perfectly grammatical, and a method perfectly scientific; if the marks of extensive reading, and an omission of scarce aught that has been formerly advanced on the subject, demand applause, these lectures may assert their claim. Accurate and copious, they contain all that the ancients have delivered on the rhetorician's art, all the rules which commentators have coolly deduced from a careful perusal of the raptures of Demosthenes and Cicero. This, perhaps, was all the praise our author sought, and this much certainly is his due. We will not accuse the lecturer of phlegm, since he only professes to be didactic; nor censure his many tedious repetitions, since to an audience, perhaps, they conduce to perspicuity. They who seek to understand rhetoric, must be contented with the disgusting dryness of names and definitions; those names and proper definitions are supplied here in abundance. If, regardless of the present age, the author has not thought proper to adapt his rules to the differing modes of eloquence of different centuries, he has nevertheless been a faithful commentator upon the ancients, whom he

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appears to have studied, and whose languages he seems perfectly to have understood. We would not therefore be thought to object to the execution of the present performance, but to the choice of the subject; not to the lecturer's talents, but the inutility of his task.

In delivering our sentiments upon a former work, which had pretty much the same excellencies and the same defects with this before us, [Lawson's Oratory] we hinted our opinion, that eloquence is more improved by the perusal of the great masters, from whose excellencies rules have been afterwards formed, than by an attendance on the lectures of such who pretend to teach the art by rule, more by imitation than by precept. We shall here then take the liberty of pursuing the thought; and as an extract from the work before us can (from the nature of the subject) neither excite the reader's curiosity, nor awaken his attention, instead of offering any thing from the author, we shall fill up a page with a few observations of our own. We all would be orators: we live in an age of orators: our very tradesmen are orators. Were it not worth while to ask what oratory is?

Oratory is nothing more, than the being able to imprint on others, with rapidity and force, the sentiments of which we are possessed ourselves; thus sometimes even silence is elegant, and action persuades when words might fail. We may be thus impressed, without being convinced; and our passions are often excited on the side of the speaker, though reason would resist their impulse. *Whatever, says Boileau, we clearly conceive, we can clearly express; whatever we conceive with warmth, is expressed in the same manner;* when the emotion is strong, the words rise almost involuntarily, to give our feelings all the force of expression. The speaker who calmly considers the propriety of his diction, cools in the interval; the spirit is fled, and, not being moved himself, he ceases to affect his hearers. Should we examine writers of genius on the most applauded parts of their performances, they would readily answer, that those parts have been most admired which they wrote with the greatest ease and the warmest enthusiasm. Thus we see, eloquence is born with us before the rules of rhetoric, as languages have been formed before the rules of grammar. Nature alone is mistress of the art, and perhaps every person who understands the language in which he speaks, who has great interest in the cause he defends, or is warmly attached to his party, might be an orator. This is the reason that the most barbarous nations speak in a style more affecting and figurative than others; they feel with passions unabated by judgment, and tropes and figures are the natural result

result of their sensations. These strong and vigorous emotions, therefore, can be no where taught, but they may be extinguished by rule; and this we find actually to have been the case; we find no Grecian orator truly sublime after the precepts of Aristotle, nor Roman after the lectures of Quintilian. Their precepts might have guarded their successors from falling into faults, but at the same time they deterred them from rising into beauty. Cool, dispassionate, and even, they never forfeited their title to good sense, they incurred no disgust, and they raised no admiration.

But if rules in general of this kind are of such inutility, how much more must they lead us astray, when we take the precepts given to the orators of one country to direct the pleadings of another; rules drawn from the ancients to direct a modern barrister, would make him thoroughly ridiculous; and yet this custom prevailed in Europe till about a century ago. A lawyer, who even then perceived the absurdity of the custom, hearing his adversary talk of the war of Troy, the beauteous Helena, and the river Scamander, intreated the court to observe, that his client was christened, not Scamander, but Simon.

In fact, those men who have taken so much pains to reduce what is properly a *talent* to an *art*, have but very little advanced the interests of learning: by their means the mind, attentive to her own operations, mixes judgment with all her enthusiasms; and like a man who is ever reflecting on the danger of every hazardous enterprize, at last is satisfied with the advantages of safety, unconcerned about the rewards attending success.

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ART. IX. *An Enquiry into the present State of polite Learning in Europe.* 8vo. Price 2s. 6d. sewed. Doddsley.

THE ingenious author of this little performance sets out with such a contempt for criticism, that he need not wonder if the critics damn his essay in revenge. This is the nature of little minds; their jealousy is proportioned to their want of merit, and they make up in violence what they fall short in weight and argument. It is true the author lays himself open to suspicion, that he is desirous of anticipating the censure he may apprehend from *certain critics*. Men seldom tax the impartiality of their judges, except when they expect to be condemned by them. *'Write what you will, regardless of the critics,'* is certainly good



advice; but we would wish he had added, "Think what you write, regardful of your reputation;" for it is no less our desire to diminish the number of useless volumes, first written by conceit, and afterwards purchased by ignorance, than it is our author's, 'to loosen those bonds first put on by caprice, and afterwards drawn hard by fashion.' But we would avoid all asperity. Even the errors of genius demand our indulgence; and we had rather pass over a thousand blemishes than conceal one real beauty in a work of taste and merit. As such we venture to recommend this essay, written in a genteel strain, and with a politeness far above the bulk of authors that come before us. A lively turn of sentiment, a brilliancy of expression, and a manner peculiarly pretty and agreeable, cannot fail of engaging the attention of such as read for amusement: those who expect more, will perhaps find themselves disappointed. 'To mark the corruptions that have crept into the republic of letters; to rescue genius from the shackles of pedantry and criticism; to distinguish the decay naturally consequent on an age like ours grown old in literature, from every erroneous innovation which admits a remedy; to take a view of those societies which profess the advancement of polite learning, and by a mutual opposition of their excellencies and defects, to attempt the improvement of each, is the design of this essay.' A design laudable, without doubt, but not to be compassed by florid declamation and general assertions, that prove nothing besides the spirit and genius of the author.

This little performance is classed under the following heads: *Of the decline of ancient learning; a view of the obscure ages; a parallel between ancient and modern learning; of the present state of polite learning in Italy; the decline of antient and modern learning; France and England incapable of comparison; the present state of polite learning in France; the state of polite learning in Great Britain; the encouragement of learning; of criticism; of the state; of universities; subjects extremely interesting, and rendered by our author no less entertaining.*

Among the causes of the decline of antient literature, he ranks criticism as the most powerful; a postulatium on which he builds much, and places in rather a striking than a satisfactory view. A multiplicity of books, and the myriads of commentators, scholiasts, annotators, were, according to him, the destruction of antient learning. 'It is to these (says he) that the depravation of antient learning is principally to be ascribed. By them learning was separated from common sense, and made the proper employment of speculative idlers. Men bred among books,

books, and seeing nature only by reflection, could do little except hunt after perplexity and confusion. The public therefore, with reason, rejected learning thus rendered barren, tho' voluminous; for we may be assured, that the generality of mankind never lose a passion for letters, as long as they continue to be either amusing or useful." He concludes this head with distinguishing antient learning into three periods: the commencement, or the age of poets; its maturity, or the age of philosophers; and its decline, or the age of critics: an hypothesis plausible enough, but, as we apprehend, inconsistent with historical truth. In the most flourishing period of Grecian learning, were not philosophy and the arts split into a variety of sects, each a critic upon the rest? Had this discordance of opinion, though it multiplied books, any other effect than whetting the wit, and as happens on the collision of flint and steel, striking out latent sparks of genius, and drawing forth all the powers of intellect? The usurpation first of Alexander, and afterwards of the Romans, was really the true cause why science drooped. Liberty was suppressed, and with it languished every generous and noble sentiment. What our ingenious author reckons a cause of the decline of letters in the obscure ages, was really an effect of the low condition to which they were reduced. An effort weak and mistaken, indeed, to restore learning to its former lustre. Thus our author, like the writers he censures, "turns to our view that side of the subject which contributes to support his hypothesis, while the objections are generally passed over in silence. Thus an universal system rises from a partial representation of the question, a whole is concluded from a part, a book appears intirely new, and the fancy-built fabric is stiled, for a short time, very ingenious."

Nothing can be more spirited and lively than his review of the obscure ages. His character of the authors of those ill-fated times is strong; the parallel he draws between antient and modern learning just, there being no medium whereby to judge this contested excellence; and his remarks on the present state of letters in Italy, Germany, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, expressive of a fine taste and extensive reading in the Belles Letters. To select every pretty passage would be to transcribe the whole: yet after all he might, perhaps, have treated his subject with more success in a different manner. To assert, is not to reason; nor do points, round periods, and quaint antitheses, constitute fine writing. A sprightly thought, happily expressed, may tickle the imagination, but a just one only can gratify the judgment. The one may do credit to the author's genius, but the other forms our opinion of his understanding.

Speaking of the state of our British universities, we apprehend our author has fallen into some very gross mistakes. 'Teaching (says he) by lecture, as at Edinburgh, may make men scholars, if they think proper; but instructing by examination, as at Oxford, will make them so often against their inclination. Edinburgh only disposes the student to receive learning; Oxford often makes him actually learned.' Would it were so! It is not our intention to compare their merits; they have each their excellencies and defects; but our author, we are of opinion, has mistaken them. Science is too much neglected in the one, and the arts in the other. If Oxford produces finer writers, Edinburgh may be allowed to send forth better philosophers. The latter want beauty, and the former strength; both might be happily remedied by a just mixture of studies.

To dismiss the article: our author is himself a striking instance of the truth of what we assert: had he paid a greater attention to science, he would have *thought* with more precision; had he paid less to the arts, he might have *written* with not so much elegance, but surely with more energy. His subject requires a deep knowledge in ethics and history; and the reader, from his professions, has a right to expect a scrupulous enquiry into the influence of manners, laws, government, and even climates, upon learning.

N. B. We must observe, that against his own conviction, this author has indiscriminately censured the two Reviews, confounding a work undertaken from public spirit, with one supported for the sordid purposes of a bookseller.—It might not become us to say more on this subject.

ART. X. *The Prince of Abissinia, a Tale.* 2 Vols. Price 5 s.  
Doddsley and Johnston.

**T**HOSE who employ their pens on moral subjects, free from limited systems, narrow prejudices and subtle disquisitions, cultivate a science of all others the most conducive to private content and publick utility.

Narration has justly been deemed the most essential and pleasant vehicle for this kind of instruction, where the attention is fixed by our solicitude for the event, and the precept enforced by example. To convey knowledge by insensible steps, to teach while you divert, and make wisdom steal into the heart, requires execution, genius, and great address. For this reason the laws of history prohibit tedious reflections, long dissertations,



tions, and laboured disquisitions either in morals or politicks; such only are permitted as rise easily from the subject, and illustrate, without breaking the thread of the narrative. In this particular our learned author may possibly be thought to fail. He has in a simple, but elegant tale, couched in the method of dialogue the most important truths and profound speculations. No plot, incident, character, or contrivance, is here used to beguile the imagination. The narrative might have been comprised in ten lines; all, besides a flowery description of the *happy valley*, will please philosophers, but possibly be laid aside as unintelligible by the readers of novels. To the former, therefore, we recommend this little tale, as a beautiful epitome of practical Ethics, filled with the most judicious observations upon life, the nicest distinctions upon conduct, and in every respect worthy of the learned and sensible author of the *Rambler*. We have selected the following chapter as the most convenient specimen of his manner.

‘ As he was one day walking in the street, he saw a spacious building, which all were, by the open doors, invited to enter: he followed the stream of people, and found it a hall or school of declamation, in which professors read lectures to their auditory. He fixed his eye upon a sage raised above the rest, who discoursed with great energy on the government of the passions. His look was venerable, his action graceful, his pronunciation clear, and his diction elegant. He shewed, with great strength of sentiment, and variety of illustration, that human nature is degraded and debased, when the lower faculties predominate over the higher; that when fancy, the parent of passion, usurps the dominion of the mind, nothing ensues but the natural effect of unlawful government, perturbation and confusion; that she betrays the fortresses of the intellect to rebels, and excites her children to sedition against reason their lawful sovereign. He compared reason to the sun, of which the light is constant, uniform, and lasting; and fancy to a meteor, of bright but transitory lustre, irregular in its motion, and delusive in its direction.

‘ He then communicated the various precepts given from time to time for the conquest of passion, and displayed the happiness of those who had obtained the important victory, after which man is no longer the slave of fear, nor the fool of hope; is no more emaciated by envy, inflamed by anger, emasculated by tenderness, or depressed by grief; but walks on calmly through the tumults or the privacies of life, as the sun pursues alike his course through the calm or the stormy sky.

‘ He enumerated many examples of heroes immovable by pain or pleasure, who looked with indifference on those modes or

accidents to which the vulgar give the names of good and evil. He exhorted his hearers to lay aside their prejudices, and arm themselves against the shafts of malice or misfortune, by invulnerable patience; concluding, that this state only was happiness, and that this happiness was in every one's power.

‘Rasselas listened to him with the veneration due to the instructions of a superior being, and, waiting for him at the door, humbly implored the liberty of visiting so great a master of true wisdom. The lecturer hesitated a moment, when Rasselas put a purse of gold into his hand, which he received with a mixture of joy and wonder.’

“I have found, said the prince, at his return to Imlac, a man who can teach all that is necessary to be known, who, from the unshaken throne of rational fortitude, looks down on the scenes of life changing beneath him. He speaks, and attention watches his lips. He reasons, and conviction closes his periods. This man shall be my future guide: I will learn his doctrines, and imitate his life.”

“Be not too hasty, said Imlac, to trust, or to admire, the teachers of morality: they discourse like angels, but they live like men.”

‘Rasselas, who could not conceive how any man could reason so forcibly without feeling the cogency of his own arguments, paid his visit in a few days, and was denied admission. He had now learned the power of money, and made his way by a piece of gold to the inner apartment, where he found the philosopher in a room half darkened, with his eyes misty, and his face pale. “Sir, said he, you are come at a time when all human friendship is useless; what I suffer cannot be remedied, what I have lost cannot be supplied. My daughter, my only daughter, from whose tenderness I expected all the comforts of my age, died last night of a fever. My views, my purposes, my hopes are at an end: I am now a lonely being disunited from society.”

“Sir, said the prince, mortality is an event by which a wise man can never be surprised: we know that death is always near, and it should therefore always be expected.” “Young man, answered the philosopher, you speak like one that has never felt the pangs of separation.” “Have you then forgot the precepts, said Rasselas, which you so powerfully enforced? Has wisdom no strength to arm the heart against calamity? Consider, that external things are naturally variable, but truth and reason are always the same.” “What comfort, said the mourner, can truth and reason afford me? of what effect are they now, but to tell me, that my daughter will not be restored?”

The

‘The prince, whose humanity would not suffer him to insult misery with reproof, went away convinced of the emptiness of rhetorical sound, and the inefficacy of polished periods and studied sentences.’

Upon the whole, we imagine the talents of the author would appear to more advantage, had he treated his different subjects in the method of essays, or form of dialogue. At present, the title page will, by many readers, be looked upon as a decoy, to deceive them into a kind of knowledge they had no inclination to be acquainted with.

#### ART. XI. ENGRAVING.

**A**MIDST the degeneracy, want of taste, trifling pursuits and dissipation of the present age, we find many instances of uncommon genius, in all the different branches of the liberal arts, shooting up as it were without culture, and even unheeded, like a number of delicate flowers on a common overgrown with weeds, heath and brambles. Not to mention the progress which has lately been made by our countrymen in statuary, painting, and music, we can congratulate this age and island, upon having produced one of the best engravers that ever appeared in England. The reader of taste will immediately guess that we mean Mr. Strange, whose works have always excited the admiration of the public. This excellent artist, unlike his brethren, has never deviated from that respect which a man of extraordinary genius owes to his own character. He has ever resisted the temptations of wealth when they were inconsistent with his reputation, and chosen rather to live on a moderate income, earned by the industry of his own hands, than acquire a large fortune, by prostituting his name and genius to the indiscriminating choice of ignorant employers, and the inaccuracy of hurried execution. The subjects he has selected are some of the best pieces of the best masters, and these only; and every thing that comes from his hand is finished and perfect. The public has done justice to his merit, which has stood entirely on its own foundation, unsupported by interest and cabal; and we doubt not that all lovers of the liberal arts will encourage that laudable ardour for improvement, which appears in his last proposals of subscription. He has already almost finished the three prints, which, in our opinion, are executed with a spirit and accuracy, that, if possible, exceeds those of his former productions.

One represents the choice of Hercules, and is engraved after picture of the celebrated Nicholas Poussin, now in the possession Henry Hoare, Esq.

The



The scene is laid as it were on the very boundary, between a fertile and a barren country. The hero may be said to stand on the confines, between the figures of Virtue and Pleasure, by whom he is alternately admonished and allured. On one side nothing is to be seen but barren hills, stunted trees, and rugged mountains; the other displays a charming passage or landscape, adorned with verdure, shrubs, trees, and flowers in full blossom. Hercules, crowned with a garland of oak, and supported by his club, stands in an attitude of earnest suspense; between animating virtue and seducing pleasure. He appears in all the bloom of youth, with a mixture of delicacy, even in that robust composition of the bones and muscles, by which Alcides is always distinguished. On his countenance there is a fine expression of ingenious sensibility; a noble flush of features glowing with the dictates of honour: for he is already turned towards virtue, and his mind seems to be in the very act of triumphing over the allurements of pleasure.

Virtue is represented by a female figure modestly arrayed in a plain stole: her hair flows loose about her shoulders, without any other ornament but that of a fillet: her looks are composed, serene, and sensible; while she stands exhorting her pupil, pointing to a bare perpendicular rock, as an emblem of the toil, danger, and difficulty that attend the pursuit of true glory. There is a simplicity in this figure, which, though it may disgust the eye of a common spectator, will, nevertheless, recommend it strongly to every person acquainted with the manner of the ancients.

On the other side, the eye is attracted powerfully by Pleasure, exhibited in the character of Venus, addressing the hero with all the blandishments of love and elocution. One hand is extended in the attitude of eloquence: with the other, she points to some scenes of effeminate pleasure, which, however, are concealed from the spectator's view; an infant Cupid holds by his mother with one hand, and, in the other, presents a full blown rose to Hercules. In the figure of Pleasure, we find no glare of false, extravagant ornaments. The drapery consists of a loose robe and zone embroidered: her feet are cased in buskins: her hair is intertwined with a chaplet of flowers: part of it flows adown her neck: the rest is braided up in the Grecian manner.

The whole right leg, and part of the thigh, as well as the arm, shoulder, and neck, on the same side, are naked: the head is in profile, and may be considered as a fine antique: for, altho' it be the work of Poussin, it is designed entirely in the antique manner.

The subject of Mr. Strange's second print, is Venus attired by the Graces, the picture by Guido Rheni in the royal collection at Kensington. We hazard nothing in affirming, that  
this

this is one of the finest prints that ever attracted the public attention, whether we consider the design or the execution. Venus appears almost naked, reclining on a couch, displaying all the attractions of female beauty, with her eyes turned up, as if she was dissolved into all the languishment of pleasure. It is impossible for a spectator of sensibility to view this figure without admiration even to rapture; she is so fair, so soft, so tender, so elegant and alluring. Cupid stands between her knees playing with one of her trinkets, and exhibiting in his looks all that childish archness, by which he is usually characterised. The three graces are employed in attiring his mother. One stands behind her head, disposing a jewel in her hair, and is, herself, extremely elegant and beautiful, naked to the breast, with her own hair flowing in ringlets upon her neck and shoulder. She is contrasted in attitude by another tying a bracelet on the arm of Venus; and a third in a sitting posture, with the foot of the goddess on her knee, is employed in lacing on the buskin. Hard by is a casket of jewels on a dressing table; on the fore-ground lie the bow and quiver of Cupid; and behind we see another little love culling a nose-gay from a vase filled with flowers: perhaps there never was a finer groupe than in the composition of this picture, every figure of which is beautiful; but, that of Venus, altogether exquisite. The painter has displayed uncommon art in the conduct of the *chiaro oscuro*; for, the whole is exhibited in a fine blaze or mass of light, that shews every figure to the best advantage.

The third print is likewise taken from a picture of Guido at Kensington, and represents St. Agnes with her lamb, as the emblem of meekness and innocence. She appears standing with her hands clasped together, and her eyes lifted up in a transport of devotion. Her face discloses the unaffected graces of youth and beauty; all the mildness of humanity and benevolence, together with an unspeakable sweetness of expression, which denotes internal peace, the happy consequence of true piety and conscious virtue. Behind her, a Love is seen descending from the sky, with a crown of martyrdom in one hand, and a branch of palm in the other. On the fore-ground a second Love appears, playing with a lamb: and at one side, we see a magnificent vase and pillar, adorned with sculpture in *alto* and *basso rilievo*, representing a sacrifice and other scenes of ancient superstition.

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 Monthly CATALOGUE.

Art. 12. *The History of the Countess of Delwyn*, by the author of David Simple. 2 Vols. 8vo. Pr. 6s. Millar.

**A**S Poussin the painter has been said to have excelled himself whenever he had Raphael in his eye, so the writer of the present romance may be asserted to succeed best when she assumes



sumes the humble task of an imitator, rather than the more arduous employment of being original. Nor is this a small degree of praise. The humour of Mr. Fielding, who may be stiled the father of our comic romance, has been often attempted by others without success; and indeed, without a very large portion of native fire, it is in vain endeavouring to adopt the sallies of another.

The present history, as it is called, it must be owned, has fewer of those flights of fancy, less of that strong sense, and that thorough acquaintance with the vitious parts of human nature, for which the author of *Tom Jones* is justly famous; these defects, however, are compensated by an easy familiar stile, an agreeable uninterrupted vivacity, and a pleasing insight into scenes of domestic tranquillity, or distress. The story contains but a very few incidents, and those little differing from such as daily make the subjects of modern novels; but the stile, (except a few passages where it seems inflated) is easy, flowing, and tolerably correct. When novels take a turn like this, in ridiculing the fashionable follies of the times, they are certainly useful, and serve as a tolerable substitute to comedy, now almost banished from the stage. A young woman sacrificing happiness to vanity, is a character so common, that it loudly called for reproof; and is certainly described here with taste and good humour.

Art. 13. *Four Odes, intended for Choruses to a Tragedy, altered from Shakespear, on the Death of Julius Cæsar. By the Rev. Mr. Hudson.* 4to. Pr. 1s. Davis and Reymers.

A traveller faint with toil, and parched with thirst, is not more happy when he arrives at a spring of cool, delicious water, overshadowed by a spreading oak, than is a Reviewer, when, after having long wandered over dreary heaths, and disagreeable bogs of dulness and impertinence, he, at length, meets with an agreeable spot cultivated by true genius. There he gladly refreshes his taste and fancy, and rests his wearied attention.

The four odes with which Mr. Hudson has obliged the public, are, in our opinion, an elegant present, which deserve its thanks and encouragement. They are replete with fancy and enthusiasm, and breathe throughout the true spirit of poetry. The first is addressed to Liberty; the second to Fancy; the third is on the subject of true Greatness; and the last is inscribed to Concord. Whatever managers and critics may think, we cannot help being of opinion, that such pieces of poetry might be successfully introduced as choruses, even in modern tragedies. If the subject be chosen with propriety, the sentiments just and noble;



noble ; the imagery striking, and the versification harmonious ; what taste could be so gothic, what ears so asinine, as to reject the performance ?

We have not room nor leisure to distinguish all the beauties of these odes ; but in order to give the reader an idea of the author's genius, we will insert this fine apostrophe to liberty.

‘ Arise, O Liberty ! ’tis thine

The charms of nature to refine ;

With blooming hope and harmony to please,

To crown with plenty, and to bless with ease,

To light up awful Virtue's living ray,

And pour the flood of intellectual day.

‘ Place me in Afric's desert lands,

Where thirst sits gasping on the sands :

If *there* auspicious Freedom fix her seat,

‘Midst burning blasts, I'll hail the rude retreat ;

Soon shall the wild, more polish'd grown,

Admire new beauties, not her own :

Sage industry shall dig the well

Capacious, yawning many a fathom deep ;

While lowing herds, and bleating sheep,

Stand frequent in the cooling cell :

Soon shall the mantling vine

Be taught around the palm to twine ;

And social arts the stranger Naiads wake,

That sleep beneath the distant lake,

Curious to view young Commerce gayly roam,

And bring full harvests to his barren home.

‘ Place me beneath the *gelid Zone*,

Near *Winter's* adamant throne,

Where farthest ocean foams with icy roar

Along the bleak, inhospitable shore :

If freedom to the smoky dome

With fur-cloth'd mortals deign to roam ;

Thro' snowy wastes the dome I'll seek :

What hinders to enjoy the freezing year !

For *Property* will there appear ;

And chearful *Health*, with rosy cheek,

Pursue the panting prey ;

Or, mindful of the lengthen'd day,

Sit chaunting on the mountain's crystal brow,

Where hanging torrents shine below ;

Nor will Cimmerian *sleep* forget to bring

Safe slumbers, waving at his downy wing.’

Art. 14. *A Plea for the Poor: in which their inexpressible hardships and sufferings are verified from undeniable facts, &c. By a merchant of the city of London. 8vo. Pr. 1s. Townsend.*

The author of this tract writes like a person of good sense and uncommon benevolence. After a warm and pathetic exhortation to charity, he feelingly describes the miseries to which the poor are reduced; descants upon the causes of these calamities; gives us extracts of all the schemes which have been practised for the maintainance and employment of the poor in England, from the reign of Alfred the great to the present conjuncture, including the law of queen Elizabeth, the plans of Sir Josiah Child and Mr. Fielding, and the resolutions of the house of commons on this subject, passed in the year 1751. A great deal has been said and written on this theme, and a great many projects have been formed; though these, for the most part, have either been impracticable, or attended with such difficulties and defects, as deterred the legislature from putting them in execution. After all, we imagine the great nuisance and calamity arising from numbers of unprovided poor, might be very easily removed two different ways; either by compelling the parish officers to do their duty, or by abolishing all the laws relating to the poor, and establishing a regular and effectual system of police in the great cities of London and Westminster—With what contempt must a sensible foreigner look upon the interior government of this kingdom, when he sees the streets and the highways swarming with beggars, and, at the same time, is given to understand, that the people of England expend above three millions sterling for the maintainance of the poor. He would justly consider the nation as a ridiculous compound of virtue and absurdity, if that charity may be really deemed virtue, which is extorted either by the law of the land, the sollicitation of interested individuals, or the clamorous importunity of shocking distress.

Art. 15. *Some Reasons given against an Opinion that a person infected with the Small-Pox may be cured by antidote without incurring the distemper: with an attempt to explain the manner of the propagation and eruption of the small-pox from the practice of inoculation; and why this distemper, taken, by common infection, in the natural way, proves so much more fatal than that which is given by inoculation. By Thomas Frewen, M. D. 8vo. Pr. 1s. Wilkie.*

It was the opinion of Boerhaave, and others, that a specific might be discovered, which would extinguish or discharge the contagion of the small-pox from a body infected, without permitting

mitting any eruption of the pustules ; in the same manner as a poison is cured by its peculiar antidote. Divers medical writers have proposed to treat this distemper, like other inflammatory cases in the beginning, with a view to discuss the inflammation ; so that a suppuration shall not ensue. Dr. Frewen observes, that the *virus* producing the small pox, is different from that of all other poisons, in as much as it never can be admitted, so as to produce the same distemper a second time in the human body : in this particular likewise, it differs from pleurisies, quinies, and almost all other inflammatory disorders : he therefore thinks of the small-pox, that as nature endeavours with all her might, at the expulsion of the poison, by forcing the morbid matter to the pustules, any interruption must be of dangerous consequence, lest the humours should be impeded in their circulating motion, and fall into an intestine one, and grow putrid.—All this may be very true, and is, we believe, generally allowed in physic, though perhaps, the consequences which the doctor deduces, are rather over-strained : but there is something in the second part of the pamphlet which we do not so well comprehend. He owns that there is a *pabulum* for the small-pox in the constitution ; that the taint of the infection, being infused into the blood, is conveyed by means of the circulation, throughout the whole animal body ; and touching every where on this *pabulum*, like a spark of fire among particles of sulphur or nitre, excites feverish symptoms, &c. yet, he seems to think that the symptoms of the small-pox contracted in the natural way, are by far most dangerous, because the imperceptible effluvia of the distemper are conveyed at first to the lungs, heart, and brain. If the *virus*, howsoever communicated, operates on the whole *pabulum* in the constitution, we would ask the doctor, what difference it will make, whether it is communicated by a scratch in the arm, or by the lungs in inspiration. True it is, that he observes the *variolous pus*, applied by a slight incision, to any part of the body, acts in the manner of a *caustic*, by inflaming and corroding the parts, insomuch that the continuity, after some days, is destroyed ; and an ulceration caused from the separation of the eschar.

He supposes too, that the morbid effluvia of this distemper received by inspiration, produce the same kind of phenomenon in the natural way ; that these venomous particles, happening to fall on the vital parts, by inflaming and corroding the same, in like manner, are so commonly attended with their fatal effects : for instance, on the lungs, brain, &c. He likewise mentions the infected air conveyed by the olfactory nerves to the delicate texture of the brain. Does he really think, then, that the subtil effluvia of this *Virus* cannot enter through the pores, without corroding the surface ? We know that the venereal taint

can



can enter the pores of the *Glans penis*, without producing any corrosion ; and we know that the Turks communicate the Small Pox by the nostrils, without destroying the continuity of the parts, or any ways endangering the *most delicate texture of the brain* — We wish the doctor had considered the subject a little more maturely : the matter as it stands is not come to full supuration.

Art 16. *A second letter from Wiltshire to the Monitor, on the vindication of his constitutional principles.* Hooper. Price 6 d.

Where this author procures the intelligence which he has thought proper to divulge in prejudice of the m——'s conduct, we know not: we wish, we hope, it is invented in his own study, without any regard to truth. His observations, however, concerning our war and alliances on the continent, are generally pertinent, shrewd, and mortifying to every true lover of his country: his expostulation with the Monitor, is cool, close and conclusive, written in the true spirit of temperate ridicule.

Art. 17. *The History of Portia. Written by a Lady.* 2 Vols. Pr. 6s. 12mo. Withy.

Or the reveries of an ancient gentlewoman, considerably on the wrong side of her grand climacteric.

Art. 18. *The Bracelet: or, the Fortunate Discovery. Being the History of Miss Polly \* \* \* \* \*. Translated, with some alterations, from a French work, entitled, Memoires de Cecile.* 2 Vols. 12mo. Pr. 6s. Noble.

This performance is much too dull to merit our remarks, and inoffensive enough to pass without censure. The reader will certainly peruse it without mirth or improvement; yet will he have no great reason to think his time wholly mispent.

Art. 19. *Thoughts on Money, Circulation, and Paper Currency.* 8vo. Hamilton, at Edinburgh.

We know not whether to call this pamphlet more ingenious or whimsical. The author, with a good stock of knowledge, seems to have sat down to contradict in writing, some common-received opinions concerning the value of money. He denies that the price of commodities increase, in proportion to the increase of money: he affirms, that living is as cheap in London as in the North of Scotland; and that manufactures may be carried on as cheap in the metropolis, as in any other part of the kingdom.—Any body may, from *Gaieté de Cœur*, broach such paradoxes, but very few, like our author, will be able to support them with plausible arguments.

